l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930 .
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



valley. As will be later explained in more detail in connection with the *fiestas* of the *barrios*, these *fiestas* render expressive the *esprit de corps* of the villages. A strong feeling of group solidarity develops, and not a little feeling of competition, each village priding itself on the merits of its *santo* and the splendor of its *fiesta*.

At the same time a traditional pattern of co-operation among villages unites them as against mere visitors from outside the valley. On the occasion of very important *fiestas*, given in small hamlets, as, for example, the annual *fiesta* of Ixcatepec, the *mayordomos* charged with the care of the *santos* in Tepoztlán and the neighboring villages meet and agree to distribute the burden of an eight-day *fiesta* among the group. Each *mayordomo* then becomes responsible for one day for the care of the *santo* of Ixcatepec, and undertakes to provide the candles burned that day. Everyone from Tepoztlán goes to Ixcatepec, and the *fiesta* is thought of as a *fiesta* of the whole community. The cockfights attending the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec may then be held as Tepoztlán *vs.* Cuernavaca, or Tepoztlán *vs.* Yautepec.

Such institutions integrate into a single community a number of more or less independent villages with special cultures and traditions. The term for "countryman" (*paisano*) more often than not means an inhabitant of Tepoztlán or one of the satellite villages, and will not be applied to a man from outside the immediate valley.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

## CHAPTER IV

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

The social organization of the village itself follows the same pattern as that just described for the entire valley community. Tepoztlán, like the whole community of which it is the largest village, is made up of semi-independent units, each of which centers about a church and a patron saint. These units are the *barrios*. The *barrios* are the contiguous component parts of the village, but their presence and relative positions are indicated by the towers of the seven small churches or chapels (*capillas*) which, with the great central church situated on the *plaza*, alone of the buildings of Tepoztlán, project above the sea of foliage which covers the town in the rainy season. These seven small chapels are scattered about the village; no two are close together. Each is located in and is the property of one of the seven *barrios*. The chapel and the *barrio* take their name from the saint whose image is placed on the altar of the chapel and on whose name day falls the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. Santa Cruz has not one, but two, *fiestas*—one on May 3, the other on August 6—because there are two images in the chapel, that of the Santa Cruz and that of San Salvador. In this case, while the *barrio* is known as Santa Cruz, Saint Salvador[1] is thought of as the pat-

[1] "Saint Salvador"—rather than an aspect of the Christ.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ron of the *barrio*. The small hamlet of Ixcatepec, just outside Tepoztlán, has the same two images and the same two *fiestas*. By arrangement of long standing, however, Ixcatepec celebrates its *fiestas* a week after those of Santa Cruz.

The *barrios* vary a great deal in size. The number of houses in each *barrio* is approximately as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| San Pedro | 35 | La Santísima (Trinidad) | 175 |
| Los Reyes | 65 | San Miguel | 150 |
| San Sebastian | 14 | San Domingo | 175 |
| Santa Cruz | 100 | | |

Roughly speaking, there are four large *barrios* and three small ones. The three large *barrios* last named are grouped about the central *plaza*, while the three small ones and Santa Cruz are situated above (west of) the others.[1] The boundaries of the *barrios* are clearly defined. Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, although almost at the opposite end of town.[2] The inhabitants of these houses take their turn in the care of the chapel of Santa Cruz, and pay the contribution paid by *barrio* members at the time of the *fiesta* of that *barrio*.

[1] See map, p. 220.

[2] How this came about the writer is unable to say. No informant had any explanation.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



621 mains in the old *barrio* carries on after his father's death the membership in the old *barrio* and fulfils the pledge to that *santo*, while the younger son takes up membership in another *barrio*. It will be observed that there is a tendency for the men within a *barrio* to be [591] related rather than the women, because in most cases a married son brings his wife to live in his father's house, or in a new house built on or near the same house site, while daughters marry and often go to live in other *barrios*. The *barrio* probably in no way af- [582] fects the choice of spouse; no influences on such choice appear except influences of propinquity and temperamental preference.

621 Membership in the *barrio* is attested by the impor- 794 tant fact of payment of the offering (S. *limosna;* N. 782 *huentli*) at the time of the *fiesta* of the *santo* of the *barrio*, and it is so perpetuated in the cases of individuals belonging to *barrios* other than those in which they live. Thus the La Santísima families in Los Reyes pay the offering when the *fiesta* of La Santísima takes place. They may also pay the offering for the *fiesta* of Los Reyes, but this is recognized as a later obligation and does not cancel membership in the *barrio* of La Santísima. By this same ceremonial payment the fact that the people living in the Santa Cruz enclave within San Miguel belong to Santa Cruz is annually revived at the *fiesta* of Santa Cruz. The offering is thought of as a perpetual pledge to the *santo*, irrevocable, and binding on a man's family after his death. The money so paid is expended for one or both

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



of two purposes: the candles burned before the *santo* on the day of the *fiesta*, and the tower of fireworks (*castillo*) burned in the atrium of the church on that occasion. The payment for each of these purposes, of the year's instalment of the perpetual pledge, is an occasion attended by solemnizing ritual, both acted and spoken. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the *mayordomos* of the candles and of the *castillo*, and the occasions are known respectively as the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*.[1]

As has already been indicated in a previous chapter, the *ejidos* of Tepoztlán are not, as were the *altepetlalli* of the pre-Columbian town, divided into sections among the *barrios*. The pastures and wood lots belonging to the town are used in common by all the *pueblo* (and by the seven smaller villages) without regard to *barrio* membership. The private agricultural fields are not grouped according to *barrios*. A resident of San Miguel may own a *milpa* over near Santa Cruz at the other side of town, although as a matter of fact *milpas* are, naturally, more often than not situated near the owner's dwelling.

But each *barrio* owns lands the produce of which goes to the support of the chapel of the *barrio*. Or, as the Tepoztecans would put it, the produce goes to the support of the *santo*. The lands are referred to as *imimil to santo*, "the *milpas* of our *santo*." These are the only truly communal lands of Tepoztlán. Conform-

[1] This ritual is briefly described on p. 100, and more fully in Redfield, art., "The Cerahpa and the Castiyohpa in Tepoztlan."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



able with law, the legal title to these lands is held by an individual, but he holds in trust for the *santo*. His interest in the land is no greater than that of any other member of the *barrio*. The lands are sowed, tended, and harvested in common by the men of the *barrio*, under the direction of the *mayordomo* of the *santo*, and the crop, when sold, goes to the upkeep of the chapel—for candles, curtains for the altars, etc. Most of the lands so communally owned by the *barrios* are *milpas* on which maize is grown. But San Miguel also owns a grove of *chirimoyas*, and San Pedro owns a grove of cedars. (Cedar boughs, now as in pre-Columbian times, are much used in decorating altars and are subject to other religious and magical uses.) In addition, certain of the *barrios*, notably San Miguel, own bulls which are used for *toros*, a sort of rustic bullfight sometimes held on the occasion of the *fiesta* of the *santo*. During the rest of the year the bulls are loaned out to members of the *barrio* for upkeep.[1]

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts[2] we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed,[3]

[1] The communal ownership of these bulls is not fully attested. During the year of the writer's stay San Miguel lent its bulls to Los Reyes at the time of the *fiesta* of the latter *barrio;* Los Reyes had none of its own, or too few.

[2] See T. T. Waterman, *Bandelier's Contribution to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization.*

[3] *Ibid.* Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, p. 190, contra.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



be expended on the *fiesta* to maintain the *barrio* prestige. The organizations which support the carnival, a secular *fiesta*, are creations of three of these *barrios*. These three *comparsas* (groups of men organizing masked "leaping") strive each to make a better show, offer a larger orchestra than do the others, and as a consequence disputes not infrequently arise.[1]

It is not too much to say that the members of a *barrio* tend to think and act alike. In very large measure this is because of the unifying and centralizing influence of the chapel and its *santo*, with the attendant co-operative work and play. A group of men of the *barrio* together prepare the *milpa* of the *santo* for sowing, together hoe the growing maize, together gather the harvest. A group of women of the *barrio* together prepare the food for the men so employed in the fields. In the former cases the work is done under the direction of the steward (*mayordomo*) of the *santo*. His wife, or the principal woman of his household, organizes the cooking of *tortillas*, beans, and meat.

In some instances there are economic factors which enforce this collective sentiment. Thus, what charcoal is burned in Tepoztlán is nearly all burned in San Pedro, and, to a less extent, in Los Reyes. The members of these *barrios*, in cutting, hauling, and burning

[1] During the year of the writer's stay trouble between Santo Domingo and San Miguel was only averted by an arrangement that the two *comparsas* were to "leap" on different days. As has been pointed out, the competitive spirit does not prevent *mayordomos* of *barrios* and villages from co-operating for important *fiestas*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



533 At noon they are back on the roof of the church, in
*796 the shadow of a bell tower, and the *chirimía* is resumed. The bell-ringer is back again too, swinging the clapper by means of a short leather thong. They keep it up until three in the afternoon. Once more,
[541] before dawn on the following day, they begin again, and the arrival of the *fiesta* is further announced by the hiss and explosion of rockets.

541 This is not an important *fiesta*, and except for the
*796 inevitable *chirimía*, it is distinguished only by the
533 burning of a *castillo de la noche* in the atrium of the big church. As soon as it is dark, people gather along the walls of the churchyard, and the fuse is ignited. Catherine wheels, rockets, and balls of colored fire, unit by unit it burns, until the last brilliant burst from the top of the tower. Then the *chirimitero*, who has been playing on the roof of the church, comes down and plays standing beside a fire made in a corner of the atrium, while the framework of the *castillo* is removed from its pole. A procession forms, lit by
[372] *ocote* torches and led by the seven sections of the *castillo*, carried by seven men, and followed by the *chirimitero* and the drummer and people who may care to come along. The procession goes to some house
• 794 in the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. The *mayordomías* (stew-
* 796 ardships) of the *castillo* and the candles burned in the church for this *fiesta* inhere in the *barrio* of Santa
541 Cruz, and the *mayordomos* are always men of this *barrio*. Arrived at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo*, the framework is put down, there to be kept until next year.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



until next year. A bottle of *aguardiente* is passed around by the *mayordomo*, another fire is built, and the *chirimía* plays there all night.

On the morning of the first of January a new municipal government is elected and installed. But this is accomplished in semi-secrecy by a political clique controlled from Cuernavaca.[1] A group of men crossing the *plaza* after an election, formal only, a number of rockets discharged in honor of the new *presidente*—it all passes almost unnoticed by most of the people who go about their affairs thinking of the *castillo* that evening.

*January 2 and 3.*—These two days are the occasion of the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa* for the *fiesta* just passed. On one of these two days the people must come to pay their pledges for the candles or for the *castillo*, which are paid for by popular subscription. The subscriptions are perennial, made each year in the same amount on the same day with the same ritual, and constitute a promise to the *santo*. For this *fiesta*, which is a *fiesta* of the entire town, people come to pay from all the *barrios*, and even from the little villages around Tepoztlán.

Today there are two *chirimías* playing simultaneously in the houses of the two *mayordomos* in Santa Cruz. The sound of these *chirimías*, and the occasional discharge of rockets and of mortars of gunpowder, serve to remind of their obligation those who have pledged payment. The people come to make this pay-

[1] The year of this study.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ment, and also to enjoy the festal dishes. The *mayordomo* sits, with his secretary (*escribiente*), at a table in his yard. The secretary has before him a notebook made by the last year's secretary, showing the list of contributors. They are listed by *barrios*, and after each person's name is the Nahuatl name of his house site. At one side of the yard sits the *chirimitero* and his drummer (*cajero*), playing occasionally. A fifth functionary, the *huehuechihque*, waits the arrival of contributors. It is usually a woman who comes. She gives her money to the *huehuechihque*, and waits while he lifts his hat and gabbles a ritual thanks in Nahuatl, the sense of which is that while they cannot adequately thank the contributor, God will do so. Then she passes on into the house and is given *mole verde* and *tamales* and *tepach*. If it is a man who comes, he does not go into the house with the women, but sits down at the table and there receives the festal food.

This procedure is followed in both the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa;* both are going on at the same time. The occasion has something of the character of the collection of a tax. Sometimes the contributor cannot remember the amount pledged, and there is a delay while the secretary looks it up in his book.

*January 3.*—The *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* continue all day. The men of Santa Cruz hold a meeting to select new *mayordomos* for the *fiesta* next year. By this time the young men of the *barrio* of Los Reyes have met to clean the chapel and to build the *en-*

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*ramada* in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

*January 5.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

*January 6.*—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

*January 7.*—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



houses of the *mayordomos* in Los Reyes, announces the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon the secular entertainment for the *fiesta* is provided by *toros*—a sort of primitive bullfight. Everyone comes to the *corral* next to the chapel of Los Reyes to see the bulls roped and thrown, and to see men ride them bareback.

*January 8 and 9.*—On these afternoons also there are *toros*. The performance is not varied, but is well attended on each of the three days.

The harvest is over now, even in the fields above the town, which ripen late. The last green squashes have been taken out of the corn. The *milpas* are deserted, except where cattle forage. People are picking coffee and spreading the berries in the sun to dry. In Santa Cruz, where there is much coffee, there is more to do than in other *barrios*. But on the whole there is not much work and there is time to enjoy the many *fiestas* of January. The trees still bear the heavy foliage the rains brought them, but the sky is cloudless, and the outlines of the hills are very clear.

*January 11.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel and rockets are discharged.

*January 12.*—This is the day for the *fiesta* of Santo Domingo. This is not an important *fiesta*, and there is no *castillo*. The *chirimía* plays again and the people of the *barrio* eat the customary *mole verde* and *tamales*. Sometimes the *Apaches* of San Juan come to dance at the chapel.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*January 14.*—The *fiesta* of the village of Santa Catarina de Zacatepec also falls on January 12, but because it is an important *fiesta* that is attended by people from many villages it is generally postponed until the following Sunday. In such a case candles are also burned before the *santo* on the proper day, which is the "day of the *santo*," while the Sunday on which the celebration is held and the festal dishes eaten is called the "*fiesta* of the *mole*."

Now people are coming to Tepoztlán from Santa Catarina to invite friends to come on Sunday and eat *mole verde* with them. The *cohetero* is building the *castillos*, and the *mayordomos* are superintending the cleaning and decorating of the chapel.

*January 16* (*about*).—On the day of the *fiesta* the roads to Santa Catarina are filled with people traveling on foot. They come from Tepoztlán, Cuernavaca, and Yautepec, and from the little villages of San Juan, San Andres, Santiago, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, and Ixcatepec. Everyone wears his best clothes. It is a very important *fiesta;* there will be two *castillos* and three groups of *Apaches*. The yard of the church is soon filled with waiting people. The devout first enter the chapel to offer prayer or to burn a candle. There are men just outside the churchyard gate digging a hole for the pole of the *castillo*.

Before the morning is old *Los Apaches* come from Jalatlaco in the state of Mexico. Like all religious dancers, they come in fulfilment of a pledge to the *santo;* this vow is annually renewed, and each year on

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



incense; behind follow musicians. As they come to the church rockets are discharged.

Then a group of men go to the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo* to fetch the *castillo*. This is the occasion for a social half-hour with a bottle furnished by the *mayordomo*. The sections of the *castillo* are brought to the church, also to the sound of rockets, and bound to the pole. The raising of the pole requires a great deal of heaving and shouting; everyone comes to watch, and the event furnishes a climax to the morning. The dancers march off to eat *mole verde* and *tamales* in the houses of the *mayordomos*, and people disperse to share the festal dinner with friends or to buy food from vendors.

At about three o'clock the *castillo* is set off. After dark a *castillo de la noche* is burned. This is the last event, and most people go home.

*January 19.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

Although there are only sixteen houses in the *barrio*, the *fiesta* is an important one, and therefore the "*fiesta* of the *mole*" is commonly postponed until the following Sunday. Including the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*, the *fiesta* may thus last more than a week.

*January 20.*—This is the day of the *fiesta*. The *chirimía* continues to play. The chapel is open and candles burn before the *santo*.

*Saturday, January 23 (about).*—In the evening a *castillo de la noche* is burned. A load of *pulque* for the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*796 *tepach* arrives from the *tierra fría*. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding, for the burden of hospitality is a heavy one, resting on so few households.

*Sunday, January 24 (about).*—The celebration of the *fiesta* of San Sebastian occurs on this day. People come from other *barrios* and other villages. There are [438] some who come to sell candies and cakes. Women [535] bring candles and flowers to the *santo*. *Los Apaches* of [541] San Juan should come to dance.[1] In the afternoon a *castillo del día* is set off. Everyone in the *barrio* eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[533] *Monday, January 25 (about).*—The *chirimía*, play- [794] ing in San Sebastian, announces the *castiyohpa* and [54] the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon there are *toros*. Los Reyes lends its *corral* and San Miguel its bulls; the same men take part, so that the *toros* of San Sebastian are a repetition of the *toros* of Los Reyes.

*796 *Tuesday, January 26 (about).*—This is the second 535 day of the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa*. In the after- [292] noon a group of men gather at the chapel of San Sebastian. Some are masked with burlap and wear any bizarre rags; some are dressed as women; and some, *los Chinelos*, wear long satin gowns, huge hats, and bearded masks. When all are ready, the "old musicians" begin to play the air traditionally used for "leaping" (*brincar*) and the masked men begin to move toward the plaza, jumping up and down with the high, short, prancing step prescribed by custom.

[1] The year of this study they failed to fulfil their obligation.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ambition to reduce unbroken ground begin now to clear the brush and weeds from *claculoles*.[1] During this otherwise-idle season men repair houses, walls, roads, fountains. Everywhere around the village householders are carrying stones to replace those fallen from broken walls, or are putting new tiles on roofs. Groups of men, working co-operatively, rebuild broken washing stones, relay stones in the streets, or build new water tanks on street corners.

During this period fairs are held in some of the larger villages in Morelos, and these draw some from Tepoztlán who make the journey usually on foot, occasionally in part by train. The dates of the fairs are given according to the number of Fridays preceding Holy Week. Thus, "the first Friday" is the fair of Chalma and also that of Xiutepec; "the second Friday," that of Tepalzingo. Then follow the fairs of Tlayacapan and Mazatepec. Some men make the rounds of all these fairs.

*Palm Sunday, El Domingo de Ramos.*—On this day people bring palm, laurel, and cedar to the church to be blessed.

*Holy Tuesday,*[2] *Martes Santo.*—Men assist the *mayordomos* to decorate the church, to dress the images, and to prepare the candles for Holy Week. A table is laid in the yard of the Templo Mayor, and in

[1] *Tlacololli:* pieces of unbroken land on mountain slopes first reduced to tillage by clearing. They are allotted out of the communal *ejidos*.

[2] Frances Toor (*Mexican Folkways*) says Thursday, but this is probably an error. The old custom was to build a prison for Christ, she says, and imprison the image all night.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



women come to pray and burn candles, and some bring garlands of *flor de chicaltzo* or *cacaloxochitl*[1] to hang on the candles. [796* 782]

Some of the chapels are open, and special images are displayed for veneration. In the chapel of Santa Cruz the *mayordomo* dresses the image known as El Señor de Los Azotes. [794 778]

*Good Friday.*[2]—All the ordinary images and the large Christ at the central altar are covered with purple curtains. At one side of the church three special images are exhibited: a Christ lying beneath a purple shroud,[3] a Christ bearing the cross,[4] a Mary dressed in black.[5] All morning people come to pray, to burn candles, and to set incense-burners before these images.[6] A little girl dressed in white with a white crown sits before the recumbent Christ, tending the incense-burner. Among the crowd of kneeling women are four young girls dressed all in black, with their hair dressed in many tight curls, and wearing black crowns. These are the *anxeltin tenapalohuatonantzin* ("angels who carry the Virgin"). [778]

[824]

[1] *Plumeria tricolor* Ruiz and Pavon.

[2] Frances Toor says that when the priest is there on Friday morning he performs a ceremony known as the "adoration of the cross." He crawls on his knees between two rows of men to kiss the cross, followed by women and children.

[3] El Señor de Santo Entierro.

[4] Tres Caidos.

[5] La Virgen Dolorosa.

[6] The first two of these images have each their special *mayordomos*. The Virgen Dolorosa is served by four elderly women, the *madres mayolas*. These (and probably also the two *mayordomos*) serve for life. The *madres mayolas* select each year the four *anxeltin*. [794]

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*796 [794] In the morning the *mayordomo* of the Santo Entierro comes to the church with the men and boys whom he has asked to help him. Before the central altar they build a wooden platform covered with green boughs, and on it they erect four green trees. This is Calvary. A cross is laid ready. They also clean the gilt-and-glass coffin and place it on a litter near the platform. [794] [264] [262] Then they go to the house of the *mayordomo* for a meal which includes the Lenten dishes: fish, *guasoncle*,[1] sage tea, and lentils or lima beans.

[782] At three in the afternoon the rattle sounds from the roof of the church, which soon fills with people. After prayers the image of the Santo Entierro is borne to the front of the church and bound to the cross. Silver nails are inserted in the hands, and a silver crown of thorns is placed on the head. The cross is raised on Calvary. The *anxeltin* carry the figure of the Virgin up the aisle; it is placed at the foot of the cross. The [782] tall candles are placed beneath the images; copal is burned before them. Each woman worshiper kneeling [533] on the floor lights a candle. Musicians play a dirge. At about five o'clock in the evening the image is lowered from the cross and ceremonially washed with cotton. Then it is placed in the glass-walled coffin and borne in a procession around the atrium of the church. The procession moves slowly between two rows of women carrying lighted candles. While the same mu- [533] sic plays in the procession, a man with a small drum and another with a metal flute stand in one corner of

[1] A flat fried cake of eggs, cheese, tomatoes, and fat.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are 535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em- [292] broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del día* is burned; everyone of the *barrio* [541] eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[262] *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

[794] *May 2.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa [533] Cruz on this day.

*May 3.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a [541] *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the [262] barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[778] This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is [333] burned before them. It is also the day specially de- [541] voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and 133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[i.e. LOS DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



It is still too early to work in the *milpas* in Tepoztlán, but up above, at the village of San Juan, the maize is already being planted. In Tepoztlán, men are hewing beams to make new plows or to repair old ones.

*May 7.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of San Miguel, for tomorrow is a minor *fiesta* of that *barrio* (the apparition of St. Michael). But little is done to celebrate it, for it is overshadowed by the very important *fiesta* of the village of Ixcatepec, which begins on the same day.

*May 8.*—This is the first and most important day of the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec. Of all the *fiestas* of *santos*, that of Ixcatepec is probably the most important, although the village is a very small one. For its celebration an organization is formed to include all the *barrios* in the valley. One or two *mayordomos* of these *barrios* and villages undertake to supply the candles to be burned on one of the eight days of the *fiesta*. One of the days is in charge of a village not of the valley. An event of the first day of the *fiesta* is the arrival of the people of this village, Milpa Alta, in the state of Mexico. Every year they come, perhaps a hundred of them, carrying their *santo*.[1] They come to celebrate their *fiesta* with that of Ixcatepec because they regard their *santo* as the same as that of Ixcatepec. They march into the church and place their image on the altar beside the other.

The altar is lit with many candles decorated with

[1] But the year of this study, on account of public insecurity and the religious difficulties, they did not come.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



243
[438] scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuar-*
[435] *tillo.*

By the third week in December the fields below the
[221] town are still and empty. The last loads carried by
[244] the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among
[231] the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane.
*796 There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas
[177] *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*. Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to
[437] Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The
[484] women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

[868] It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza*
[533] that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pas-*
*tores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

[794] The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the
[782] chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored
[439] tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



into the yard; there is no procession now; people talk and laugh. A pottery jar, an *olla*, hung with tissue-paper streamers, is suspended about seven feet from the ground. This is the *piñata*. The smallest children, blindfolded, are first given a chance to break the *piñata* with a stick. They are turned about to confuse their sense of direction. Too good an aim is at first discouraged; a proper climax must be reached. When at last the jar is broken the children scramble in the dust for the scattered candies.

*December 16–24.*—The festal feeling grows during the nine nights of the *posadas*. The few gasoline street lamps, purchased by some of the neighborhoods, usually left dark, are burning in the street corners. More people are in the streets now after nightfall. The fireworks-makers are busy, selling the rockets they have been making for the *fiestas*. Every evening, in half-a-dozen places in the village, sheaves of light burst suddenly into the night. Some of the chapels are open; women come to pray or to light another candle. In the chapel of La Santísima, and perhaps in that of Santa Cruz, two *barrios* where Catholic religious ritual is most likely to be observed, there are *posadas* which the *mayordomo* of the *santo* has arranged. Then the procession moves slowly around the churchyard to the "old music." Mary and Joseph seek a lodging at the door of the chapel; admitted, the effigies are carried up to the altar. The prayers are said, and, as elsewhere, when the *piñata* song is sung, men who have been waiting outside the churchyard come in. The

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl*. The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl*. So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta*. Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

*Cuatequitl* is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



463 usual need, there is always someone who is expected
[438] to step into a special rôle and exercise a special function for that crisis.

In general, the specialists of the sorts just listed are
[565] *correctos*. But there are other specialists that seem to fall into another class, to represent a different type of specialization of function. The specialists of this second class are, in the main, *tontos*. These are:

[759] Thirteen [perhaps more] herb-doctors [S. *curanderas;* N. *tepahtiani*]: With one exception, a man up in Los Reyes, these are women. They have a command of the folk knowledge of medicine. They are called upon in sicknesses of any seriousness. A large part of their technique is the preparation and administering of herbal remedies.[1]

[759] Ten [perhaps more] midwives [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]:
[844] These are always women. There is no case in the materials of a midwife who is also an herb-doctor. The specialties are quite distinct.[2] They are called in to attend all births. Their technique has been described in the preceding chapters.

[533] Three *chirimiteros:* These men play the traditional strain of music on the roofs of chapels and in the yards of the *mayordomos* at *fiestas* celebrating *santos*. None of them are young men. The act is entirely ritualistic. There is no pay but food and drink. Most *chirimiteros* carve their own *chirimías* out of *zopilote* wood. This is also a special technique.

[794] Two [or three?] *huehuechihque:* These are men who know the traditional words used in summoning people to pay their contribution for the *santos*, and those used in thanking them when

[1] In asking if a woman sets herself up as an herb-doctor, the phrase is *Sabe hervir?* ("Does she know how to boil?")

[2] There is also some evidence that some *curanderas* specialize in certain diseases.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



the contribution is paid. Like the *chirimiteros*, the *huehuechihque* are called upon only for *fiestas* of *santos*.

Two fireworks-makers [*coheteros*]: These men prepare the *castillos* for the *fiestas* of the *santos*, and make rockets [*cohetes*] which are used for any celebration.

Three maskmakers:[1] These men are brothers. The duty of making masks has always been in their family. Before the carnival these three men devote most of their time to making the traditional masks.

Two magicians [*magicos*]:[2] The existence of these specialists was learned shortly before leaving Tepoztlán. Nothing is known about them except the identity of the two individuals. "They say they know how to take a woman out of her house against her will."

These two classes of specialists appear to represent two different types of social organization, and the changing relations between them describe the social evolution of Tepoztlán. Occupations of the first class are invariably carried on in order to earn a livelihood. Those of the second class are to a less extent carried on for remuneration. The *chirimitero*, the *huehuechique*, the maskmaker, even the midwife and the herb-doctor, perform their functions because theirs are rôles which the group is accustomed to see them take. The specialists of the first class in many instances acquire their specialties adventitiously. In many cases the storekeeper, the mason, or the carpenter has

[1] These men happen to be *correctos*.

[2] The *magicos* are quite distinct from witches (*brujas*). The reputation of witches is acquired unwittingly and is not enjoyed. Theirs is not a profession.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ready been stated,[1] each of the seven *barrios* has likewise its special protector. There are usually a number of images in each church, but only one, usually enshrined in the principal altar, is the local guardian. (In the chapels of the *barrios* there is often[2] only the one image: that of the namesake and patron of the *barrio*.) It is the particular effigy that is venerated; reports[3] are plentiful of the refusal of the people to accept a new effigy of the saint as at all the equivalent of the old.

The people who live in the community presided over by the *santo* have a particular and exclusive attitude toward his protection. It is they primarily who make offerings on his name day; and it is they who have the task and the pleasure of maintaining his chapel, his cornfield, and his vestments. And they are rewarded with his special care. "San Sebastian," said a man of that *barrio*, "is the most miraculous *santo* in Tepoztlán. Therefore we are the most fortunate *barrio*. He appears to us in dreams and gives us advice."

Around these *santos* tend to cluster legends of their miraculous power.

> Our *santo* [of Santa Cruz] is very miraculous. Therefore we venerate it. When the Carranzistas, during the revolution, tried to break into the chapel, their bullets flattened on the door and refused to enter. One man went in and started toward the altar. He fell dead at the foot of the altar. It is a very miraculous

[1] Chap. iv.

[2] La Santa Cruz is one exception.

[3] Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 215; Adan, art., "Las danzas de Coatetelco."

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

## *THE BARRIOS*

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpulli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

[9] In the following pages I have listed *eight* barrios rather than *seven*, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day."[10]

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*."[11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76–77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepoztlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II.

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



site in a barrio to which neither spouse belongs and thereby acquire membership in a barrio new to both of them.

Each barrio elects a *mayordomo* who is in charge of barrio affairs. To be eligible for *mayordomo* one must be a native of the village, a member of the barrio and a married man, though exceptions to the latter are known. A reputation for honesty and a willingness to serve the barrio are of course essential. The position of *mayordomo* is one that takes a lot of time and expense. As a rule the rich families do not seek this position, though there may be some pressure upon them to accept. Normally the *mayordomo* is elected for one year, but during recent years there has been a paucity of candidates, especially in the smaller barrios, and some *mayordomos* have had to serve for as long as five years at a time. Recently the barrio of San Sebastián had to get a member of the adjoining barrio of San Miguel for a *mayordomo* because they could find no one within the barrio who wanted the job. The election for *mayordomo* takes place the evening before the Day of the Dead, when the barrio members meet in the churchyard. Only the men participate. A bonfire is made, punch is served, and likely candidates are briefly discussed. A few speeches in Náhuatl may be made and the *mayordomo* is selected by mutual agreement. There is no formal voting. Barrio elections come the closest to truly democratic processes in the village. The elections are not controlled by the priest of the central church.

The incumbent receives from the former *mayordomo* a list of the contributors of the barrio, the key to the church and to the trunk or chest where the religious objects and ornaments are kept. Some of the more valuable jewels are entrusted by the *mayordomo* to a barrio member *de confianza*. The *mayordomo* also receives the funds of the barrio. Most barrios have a fund of a few hundred pesos. In 1943 Los Reyes had 150 pesos and Santo Domingo had 450 pesos.

The *mayordomo* is responsible for the collection of *limosnas*, the organization of the barrio *cuatequil* or collective labor for the upkeep of the chapel, the preparation and organization of the barrio fiesta, and the maintenance of the church. To do all of this he appoints assistant *mayordomos* and committees who are responsible to him. The *mayordomo* has no authority beyond his personal appeal and prestige. During the twenties when the Cristeros attacked the village, the *mayordomos* organized defense corps for the protection of the barrio chapels.

The most important role of the barrio is religious and social. The barrio saint is a symbol of the collective spirit of the barrio, and the barrio organization—with its *mayordomos*, collective labor on the communally owned plot of land, and the annual barrio fiesta—acts as a unifying influence. This aspect of the barrio was well described by Redfield and, except for a few changes, still holds today.

> But it is at the time of the fiesta that the collective importance of the *barrio* members reaches its highest importance, and the chapel becomes the great focus of interest for the entire *pueblo* and even for neighboring villages. The decoration of the chapel, the ceremonial bringing of the candles, the burning of the candles, the erection and burning of the *castillo*, the preparation and consumption of festal dishes, the playing of the ancient

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). . . . Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent. . . . San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst. . . .[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

| | |
|---|---|
| Santo Domingo | Cacame [Toads] |
| La Santísima | Tzicame [Ants] |
| San Miguel | Techihehicame [Lizards] |
| Santa Cruz and San Sebastián | Tapemaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*] |
| Los Reyes | Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms] |
| San Pedro | Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23] |

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



the U.S.A. to the villagers. In addition, one Tepoztecan fought in the Mexican squadron which went to the Philippines and he, too, spoke of his experiences.

Tepoztecans have not escaped the repercussions of international events in recent years. World War II led to conscription, toward which Tepoztecans reacted negatively. During the first few months of our field work in the village in 1943-44 an incident occurred which illustrates the local attitude. The son of the president of the municipio had been recruited and was on his way to Cuernavaca to report for duty. His bus was stopped and the boy was "kidnapped" by several men. It was common gossip that this act was planned by the boy's father who, as a result of it, was imprisoned in Cuernavaca for some time. Federal troops were sent into the village and there was much tension among the people. However, the affair blew over, and the villagers resigned themselves to conscription and military training for their sons.

Another way in which current international events influence the village is in the intensified campaign of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Catholic world. Acción Católica has almost doubled its membership in Tepoztlán since 1943 as a result of the increased activity of the church. The sermons of the priest sometimes include warnings against the threat of Communism, a theme which was also heard in the local church immediately after the Mexican Revolution and in the twenties. Other than this, most Tepoztecans have no information about international trends or problems; they are ignorant of the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and even of national loans.

The geographical horizon of most Tepoztecans becomes a little more concrete when they think of Mexico. While the shape of the country and its boundaries may still be hazy, they know that Mexico is their country, that it has coasts on the east and west, that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is very hot, while the north is cold. They also know that the people of Monterrey are "stingy" and that the Yucatecans have "square-heads." They have heard of Tampico and Vera Cruz as important ports, and that Mexico produces oil and minerals. They also know some of the names of the states of Mexico, and many have had occasion to deal personally not only with people from Mexico City and with other Morelenses, but also with Mexicans from different states. During the Revolution they came into contact with soldiers from diverse parts of the country; the Norteños del Coahuila camped in Tepoztlán for months, and the people still speak of their strange customs.

Of course, the geographic horizons of the younger generation which has had some years of schooling are quite different. The children study a little world geography and know the continents and major countries of the world. Most have studied the map of Mexico, and some of the youth are beginning to demonstrate a real nationalism.

The average Tepoztecan's notion of the geography of the state of Morelos is much more precise than his notion of the geography of the nation. Many Tepoztecans have traveled over large portions of the state, as well as neighboring regions, during the years of the Revolution. Others have taken trips for economic

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



often than the president and that he generally visits the village before elections makes the villagers feel less distant toward him. There is less hesitancy about sending a delegation to the governor than to the president. On the other hand, Tepoztecans are much more critical of the governor and the state government than of the president. Tepoztecans recognize the necessity of a federal government to maintain order and "to protect us from the foreigners." They see much less reason for the existence of the state government, but they fear and respect its powers and authority.

Bodies such as the Procuradería General del Estado and the Receptoría General de Rentas del Estado have enormous meaning to the Tepoztecan. The first is the body in charge of all cases of violation of the public order, and their agents have frequently come to Tepoztlán to make arrests or to track down offenders. The Procuradería settles property cases and often sends summons to Tepoztecans to appear at a certain hour and day for hearings. Tepoztecans complain bitterly about the fact that the Procuradería accepts no excuses and will summon a man during the height of the agricultural season just as readily as any other time. Whether a man has bus fare or not, he must appear in Cuernavaca or an order for his arrest and detention will be forthcoming and a fine will be imposed. The Tepoztecan therefore fears the Procuradería, which appears to him to have arbitrary power. He also fears the public jails and the courts, both of which are related to the Procuradería. The state office of rents in Cuernavaca is also disliked, since it collects the bulk of the taxes taken from Tepoztlán.

In Cuernavaca there are such services as a state hospital and state supported medical clinics. But Tepoztecans are under the impression that the hospital is inferior, and rarely go there. A few have more faith in the hospitals of Mexico City and occasionally go there for serious operations.

### *RELIGIOUS FACTORS*

Just as Tepoztecans are aware of an administrative hierarchy whose seat is in Mexico City, so they are aware of a religious hierarchy headed by the archbishop in Mexico City. Of course, they realize that the final authority is the Pope in Rome. The local priest often mentions the Pope and his messages, as well as the messages from the archbishop. The church in Tepoztlán has taken an active part in all the recent campaigns of the national church organization. For example, the four hundredth anniversary of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which was celebrated throughout the nation, was also celebrated in Tepoztlán and was the occasion for the visitation of church dignitaries who explained the great miracle of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego shortly after the Conquest. In their sermons the priests generally identify the Virgin as a symbol of Mexican nationalism. And of course there are Tepoztecans who go on the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of the Virgin. In addition there are other religious cults of widespread popularity in Tepoztlán and other parts of the nation. One such cult is the Holy Saint of Chalma, who is visited annually by many Tepoztecans.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



The Catholic Church within the state has its regional seat in Cuernavaca, where the bishop resides. The priest in Tepoztlán is under his supervision and carries out his instructions. Periodic religious pilgrimages establish important ties with other parts of the state. Within Tepoztlán there are the following *mayordomías*, each of which organizes at least one annual visit to another town. The *mayordomías* in Tepoztlán proper include Mazatepec, Jiutepec, Tejalpa, Tlayacapan, all in Morelos, and Chalma in the state of Guerrero. Four of the seven villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán also have *mayordomías* that relate them to the state. Santiago goes to Oacalco and Yautepec; Gabriel Mariaca to Ixcatepec, Tlayacapan, Cuautla, Jojutla, Jiutepec, and Mazatepec, all in Morelos, to Amecameca in the state of Mexico, to Chalma in Guerrero, and to the Villa de Guadalupe in the Federal District. Ocotitlán goes to the Villa de Guadalupe, Chalma, and Amecameca. San Juan goes to Mazatepec, Chalma, the Villa de Guadalupe, and Amecameca.

## *POLITICAL FACTORS*

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 has been one of the most important factors in developing a sense of nationalism among Tepoztecans. Many Tepoztecans joined the ranks of the Zapatistas and had occasion to travel widely with the guerrilla forces. As we have pointed out, the rest of the population was forced to flee to other parts of the nation. All of this meant more extensive contacts with the outside.

During the years of the Revolution and thereafter, many of the *caudillos* of the Revolution, such as Zapata and Obregón, established the custom of visiting the peasants personally and discussing local problems. Contact with the rural population has been one of the policies of the post-Revolution presidents since Calles. Tepoztecans now think of the president of Mexico not only as a representative of the powerful government, but also as a popular figure, a friend of the peasants.

It is not uncommon for Tepoztecans to send requests or protests directly to the president. This has happened in almost every case of conflict between factions in the village or in cases of boundary quarrels with neighboring villages or municipios. This attitude toward the president was reinforced by the personal visit of General Lázaro Cárdenas to the village during his presidency. Cárdenas arrived in the village on foot, without any previous announcement or preparation, and accompanied only by a small contingent of friends and officials. The president set up a temporary office in the atrium of the church, where he consulted Tepoztecans about their problems. The big request from the village was for aid with the construction of a road to Cuernavaca. The president acceded, and the road was quickly completed with federal help.

The national elections for the president, which come every six years, also give Tepoztecans an opportunity to discuss political themes of nation-wide scope. Before the elections, delegates and politicians visit the village to organize local committees in favor of their particular group or candidate. During such campaigns Tepoztecans become more keenly aware that they are acting not only as Tepoztecans and as Morelenses, but also as members of the Mexican nation.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



wise incapacitated, the husband will seek out the assistance of a female relative or, even though poor, may hire a servant. Occasionally one hears of a widower or bachelor who cooks and sweeps the house, but never of a man who washes or irons or grinds corn to make tortillas.

Women who have no one to support them may hire themselves out as domestic servants, laundresses, or seamstresses, or may become merchants or itinerant peddlers. The only profession which an educated woman can practice in the village is that of schoolteacher. As yet there is no demand for nurses, secretaries, or other skilled female workers. However, the lack of rigidity in the definition of women's occupations is reflected in the fact that on two occasions in the recent past a woman has held the job of secretary of the local government, a post traditionally filled by a man. Women are also members of religious *hermandades* as well as of the school committee. As a rule, however, women play only a minor part in public activities.

The more recent technological improvements represented by the increased use of the sewing machine, the commercial corn mills, the road, and the bus service have affected the work of women rather than men. The sewing machine and the corn mills save women many long hours of work. Previously women spent from four to six hours a day grinding corn by hand, often rising at four in the morning to prepare breakfast. The time now saved is used in various ways, such as getting more sleep, sewing, knitting, going to church, or visiting more often. In many cases the added leisure has been turned toward gainful pursuits, such as gardening, and raising chickens and pigs for sale. Not being so tied to the *metate*, women are able to leave the house more freely and undertake more extensive commercial activities. The improved communication offered by the road and bus has enabled some women to become merchants who go regularly to sell their produce in the Cuernavaca market.

### *BY AGE*

Age is an important but not a rigid determinant in the division of labor. There are no organizations by age groupings in Tepoztlán which carry out assigned tasks. Most skills are learned within the family, beginning at an early age. However, in cases where a skill is learned outside of the family, apprenticeship begins in the late teens. The age at which men vote, begin guard duty, and do public collective labor, as well as enter the army, is determined by local or national law. By custom, men are not eligible for public office nor do they take part in political life until after marriage. Old people continue to work as long as they are physically able, and death is preferred to an incapacitated old age.

Children learn to work slowly and, with few exceptions, the belief that heavy labor will weaken a growing child governs the amount of work parents expect from their offspring. Boys are more carefully guarded in this respect than girls, since their labor in later life is considered harder and more important. At about the time they enter school, about age five, both boys and girls begin to do simple tasks in the house. As they get a little older they are generally glad to run errands

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Of the *curanderos*, four are new and have learned their specialty within the last ten years. Of the two *chirimiteros* referred to by Redfield, one died a short time ago and the other still practices; four have learned their skill within the last six years. The two *huehuechiques* are the same ones of twenty years ago; there have been no new recruits. Of the two fireworks makers of twenty years ago, one has died; the other five are all new in the trade. The three mask makers of Redfield's time are still working, but in addition two sons and a cousin have learned the trade.

At this point we may ask what the prospects are for the survival of these folk specialists in the face of the changes which are taking place in the village. The prospects for the survival of the occupations of mask makers and fireworks makers are very good. The former is dependent primarily upon the Carnaval and the latter upon the barrio fiestas, neither of which shows the slightest signs of dying out. On the contrary, the former has grown in importance and has become an occasion of great spending, while the latter continues unabated and has the active support of the young men, many of whom are comparatively sophisticated.

The prospects for the survival of the *chirimiteros* are not quite as good because their function is gradually being taken over by the modern secular musicians. This tendency can be seen in the center barrios, where, as in Redfield's time, culture changes appeared first in the village. In the last barrio fiesta of San Miguel, in place of the primitive *chirimía*, a fifteen-piece band played from the chapel roof throughout the night. The profession that seems certain to become extinct is that of the *huehuechique*, for this occupation depends on the knowledge and use of Náhuatl, which is rapidly disappearing in the village.[8] An important change in connection with the occupations of *chirimitero* and *huehuechique* is that these specialists are now paid in money; formerly they were compensated with food and drink, another indication of the increasing importance of money.

Prediction in the case of the *curanderos* is more difficult. Most Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their *curanderos*. But they have reached the stage where they are willing to consider the doctor as an alternative, especially in the case of serious illness. Many Tepoztecans now visit private doctors and the Public Health Clinic in Cuernavaca. Certainly the hold of the *curanderos* has become much weaker; they are no longer as busy as formerly, and their income on the whole is very small. There are only two *curanderos* in the village who have great prestige and good income.

This raises the question of the relative desirability of the survival of old institutions in the face of general trends toward modernization. While this problem will be discussed later, it can be pointed out here that a sharp distinction must be made between the social effects of such old institutions as the Carnaval and barrio fiestas on the one hand and the *curandero* on the other. The fiestas, especially the Carnaval, provide much needed diversion for all age groups and tend to unify the village.

[8] During the time that this was being written, one of the two *huehuechiques* died, and no new recruit has appeared to take his place.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



nales, refused to work side by side, and each organized separate shifts, one beginning at Tepoztlán and working toward Cuernavaca, the other working from Cuernavaca toward Tepoztlán.

Although the village *cuatequitl* is intended as a means of aiding the village as a whole, there are many obstacles to its successful operation, and it is gradually declining. Perhaps the fundamental difficulty is the inherent individualism of Tepoztecans, the suspiciousness and critical attitude toward the local government, and the paucity of local funds. The village *cuatequitl* has been traditionally associated in the minds of the villagers as a coercive rather than a voluntary institution. This may

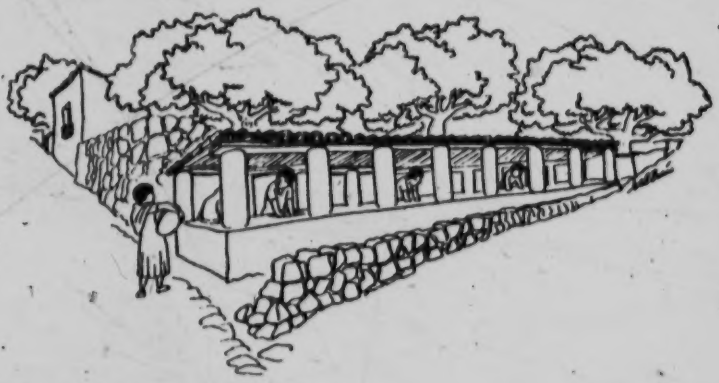


Fig. 20. The communal washbasins.

be the result of having lived under an authoritarian system in which the local government had been imposed for years. Since the local government, generally the *síndico* or the president, has the power to designate the citizens who are to work in the *cuatequitl*, there is ample opportunity for favoritism and vengeance against political opponents or personal enemies.

It may be significant in this connection that children in their games will often say, "Unless you do this I will give you your *cuatequitl*," suggesting that the *cuatequitl* is viewed as a punishment. It should also be noted that historically the existence of a native institution for collective labor was a distinct aid to the Spanish conquerors in their organization and control of the labor supply.

The second type of *cuatequitl* is the barrio *cuatequitl*. This is the collective working of the lands of the barrio saints. Barrio members are expected to cooperate in the preparation of the land, planting, cultivating, and harvesting of the crops from the saints' field. The sale of the produce goes for the upkeep of the local chapel. In contrast to the village *cuatequitl*, participation in the barrio *cuatequitl* is entirely voluntary. The barrio *mayordomo* goes through the barrio announcing at each house the time of the *cuatequitl*. While there are no fines or penalties for non-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

### *WAGE LABOR*

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

# land tenure: 6

THREE TYPES of land tenure are found in Tepoztlán: communal land holdings, *ejido* holdings, and private holdings. Communal lands comprise approximately eighty per cent of the land of the municipio and include four of the five land types, *texcal*, monte, *cerros*, and *terrenos cerriles*. These lands have belonged traditionally to the municipio and have been under its control. Any member of the municipio enjoys the right to use these lands, and they are not divided into plots.

*Ejido* lands constitute somewhat less than five per cent of the land within the municipio and consist primarily of arable land for plow agriculture. *Ejido* lands are communally owned by the municipio but are under the control of locally elected *ejido* authorities, rather than the regular municipal authorities. *Ejido* holdings differ from other communal holdings in that they are divided into small plots and assigned to individuals in accord with the rules of eligibility established by the National Ejido Program. *Ejido* and private holdings are practically identical, except that the former cannot be sold. However, *ejido* plots may remain in the same family for many years and may be passed down from father to sons if the need for the land can be satisfactorily proved. Private holdings consist mostly of the land used for plow agriculture and constitute about sixteen per cent of all the land in the municipio. Private holdings are held in fee simple, and ownership must be proved by legal title.

It is important to remember that in Tepoztlán all three types of landholdings are worked individually rather than collectively. The only exception relates to the working of church lands. Here we find a curious combination of what is technically private ownership with a collective form of labor. Each of the seven barrios "owns" a plot of land which is worked collectively by the members of the barrio for the support of the barrio chapel. The land, however, is registered in the name of a trusted barrio member because of the law against the church ownership of land. This type of collective working of land is an old pattern. Before the Revolution of 1857 each of the twenty saints in the large central church of the village had its plot of land which its particular devotees worked collectively. The similarity between this system and that of the pre-Conquest days is noteworthy, and it is possible that

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



423 476 794

the same lands which were worked for the Aztec priesthood were later worked for the Catholic Church.

## *COMMUNAL LANDS*

175 423

The communal lands represent one of the oldest forms of landholding and have shown a remarkable stability through the years. The system of communal landholding has remained practically intact through both the Aztec and Spanish Conquests. Indeed, the similarity between the policy of the Spanish and Aztec conquerors of Tepoztlán toward the system of communal landholdings is noteworthy.

When Tepoztecans asked the Spaniards for legal title to their lands in the early sixteenth century, they were able to present maps showing the boundaries of their lands which they had held under Moctezuma. These ancient "titles" were used by the Spaniards as a basis for determining the limits of the land grants.[1] The present [131] limits of the municipio are therefore almost identical with those of pre-Hispanic days. Because most Tepoztecan lands were ill suited for either sugar or rice plantations, and because of the policy both of the Crown and of the Marqués del Valle, who conquered Tepoztlán in 1521, to alter only those native institutions which constituted a direct threat to the conquerors, the Marqués was not interested in Tepoztecan lands as such. Rather, he wanted taxes in the form of produce and later in money, and he wanted the labor of Tepoztecans to work his mines and haciendas.

Tepoztlán received its first land titles from the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza in a grant dated May 20, 1548. This grant consisted of two *sitios de ganado mayor;* its next grant under Don Louis de Velasco, dated February 6, 1555, was for four *sitios de ganado menor* and eight *caballerías de tierra.*[2] These land grants gave Tepoztecans legal title to lands which they had traditionally worked and claimed.

[631] [648]

The titles for the communal holdings of the municipio are considered very precious, and responsibility for their safekeeping is entrusted to the *síndico* of the municipal local government in Tepoztlán. These titles are used primarily in boundary disputes, which have been going on with neighboring municipios for the past four hundred years. From historical documents we learn that less than one hundred years after the Conquest the land titles had already been lost. The loss and recovery of the land titles has occurred again and again in the history of the municipio.

175 423 648

According to local tradition, the titles to the municipal lands fell into the hands of the Hacienda de San Gaspar during the middle of the last century. Tepoztecans were prohibited from using their own forest resources, which the hacienda used for wood fuel. The Tepoztecans carried on an extended feud with this hacienda, and the agents were killed on sight in the village. Apparently the hacienda was

[1] In these early land grants, the land was described as follows ". . . la mayor parte de tierra infructífera por los muchos cerros y lomas ásperas, barrancas y montes intransitables." These early documents also establish the fact that the village of Tepoztlán was the administrative seat of the municipio. The surrounding villages are listed as *pagos.* See *Ramo de Tierras,* Vol. 67 (1591), Exp. 11, Foja 12; and Vol. 3501 (1745), Exp. 1, Cuaderno 4. The ancient boundaries are also given in the *Relación.*

[2] *Ibid.*

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*Harvest:* The harvest generally consists of two stages. The first is stripping the cornstalks of their leaves. This process is known as the *zacatero* and begins in early November. The leaves are bundled and transported to the house, where they are used for fodder. Stripping a cornfield of ten or twelve *cuartillos* takes six days of work. Sometimes men will compete to see who can strip two rows in the shortest time. The *zacate* is tied into bundles or *gavillas*. Twelve *gavillas* make up one *manojo* and twelve *manojos* make up one *carga*. These *cargas* of *zacate* are transported home on horse or mule. The transporting of the *zacate* produced on a field of ten to twelve *cuahtillos* takes three days of work, using two mules and making two trips a day.

The harvest of the corn itself begins in early December.[11] It takes about five days of work to pick the corn on a field of one hectare. A good worker can pick approximately two *cargas* of corn a day. The corn, like the *zacate*, is transported by mule and it takes about the same time, that is, three days. It is customary to celebrate the harvest by serving *ponche* to the helpers and to the men who are hired to transport the corn. During the harvest the wives may help in stripping the leaves off the ears of corn. These leaves are known as *totomaxtli* and are used in making tamales. Widows often ask for permission to gather corn leaves to sell.

The *cuatequitl* or unpaid cooperative labor system referred to earlier is reserved exclusively for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the land owned by the barrio for the support of its chapel, and working the barrio land is the only occasion for unpaid collective labor in agriculture. There are cases of labor exchange between relatives, but this is viewed as very different from *cuatequitl*. I should like to emphasize this point, for Tepoztecan farming is highly individualistic and in this sense quite similar to our own farming.

There is some time pressure in harvesting, in those cases in which many privately owned plots are encircled by a single fence or stone wall. The farmer who has completed his harvest is entitled to allow his animals to graze, and this endangers the corn on those fields not yet harvested. To avoid this danger and the many quarrels resulting from it, the farmers within a single enclosure generally come to some agreement to have their plots harvested within a specified time, which agreement is registered with the local authorities. Although this situation would seem to call for cooperative harvesting, each family, with the aid of hired labor, harvests its own field.

In the first few days of January most farmers begin to store the corn in the storage bins that are of two types, the *xincolotes* and the *ahuatlapiles*. The corn is generally stored without being shelled so that it will better resist the corn worms which are a great problem to Tepoztecans. Sometimes a considerable portion of the harvest is eaten or spoiled by these worms. It is customary in many families to leave the corn on the cob until April or May; prior to that, they shell only what they need.

[11] Formerly stripping and harvesting were begun after the appearance of the full moon.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



529 two tables and the other with three. Gambling has not developed to any marked
[525] degree, and consists of small occasional bets. Despite the pessimistic evaluations of the older people there is no evidence that the presence of the poolrooms has encouraged vice or has helped to develop any new bad habits. Rather it seems to have provided a harmless and much needed diversion for the young men.

275 Shortly after the road was built, a man from Mexico City attempted to establish
[548] a cabaret in Tepoztlán providing "hostesses," dancing, and drinking. The boys and young men responded with vigor, using such desperate methods as stealing from their parents or selling chickens to raise the necessary money. The adults were aroused and drove out the owner and his staff and have managed to prevent any such new establishments. At the present time there are two *cantinas* for drinking purposes only. Before 1926 the men of the village drank punch, pure alcohol,
273 and *mezcal*. Since the road there has been an increase in beer and *tequila* drinking, and the "Cuba Libre" has been introduced.

Tepoztecans have always been strong drinkers, but there are fewer habitual drunkards here than in some of the surrounding villages. From 1935 to 1938
[435] there was more drinking than there is today because alcohol was much cheaper. Within the last few years, alcohol has risen in price from 40 centavos to 5 pesos per
[275] liter. The prohibitive cost of alcohol has been responsible, in part, for the return to
[272] the use of pulque. In 1942 a *pulquería* was opened in the plaza. "Soft" drinks such as Coca-Cola, lemonade, and other carbonated drinks are also sold in the village.

In 1939, moving pictures were shown for the first time. Movie equipment was
546 installed in the school and there were nightly performances. After one month the entrepreneur moved out because of the small attendance. Since then, there have been two or three other unsuccessful attempts. To most Tepoztecans the admission charge of 30 to 50 centavos is prohibitive.

536 From time to time a puppet show reaches Tepoztlán and runs for about a week. This, together with several school plays each year, comprises the theatrical entertainment. In 1943, there were no radios in Tepoztlán; their costliness and the ab-
403 sence of electricity ruled them out.[18] However, there are 44 victrolas in the village.
405 Thirty of these belong to families in the three larger barrios and the others are distributed in each of the smaller ones.

In the past two years the church has endeavored to take a more active part in
517 providing leisure-time activities for Tepoztecans. The Acción Católica has been
794 greatly strengthened and its membership extended. Different age groups within it have separate meetings and elect officers. The activities include singing, presenting religious pageants and plays, attending funerals, celebrating saints' days, and receiving instruction in various subjects, both religious and secular. It also provides religious reading matter and organizes religious pilgrimages. Money-raising activities continue throughout the year through collections, *kermeses*, and even public dances, although the Acción has forbidden its female members to dance. Once or

[18] In 1948, several families owned battery-operated radios and some people were regular listeners to dramatic and humorous programs originating in Mexico City.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



twice a year the Acción invites members from other villages and provides them with a banquet and special religious services.

From the point of view of its effects upon the social structure and levels of living, recent trends in entertainment have tended to make for greater differences among the various economic groups. The new forms of diversion invariably involve an expenditure of money for dues, equipment, bus fare, shoes, clothing, and appropriate food. Thus, the very poor cannot join organizations like the sports club or Acción Católica, or go to Cuernavaca or to the movies, or celebrate birthdays with invited guests. The diversions which they can most easily afford are the fiestas and fairs and they rarely partake of others. It is the middle and upper economic groups which participate most actively in the newer type of diversions.

## *FAMILY BUDGETS*

Having considered several separate aspects of levels of living in Tepoztlán we can now turn to a comparison and analysis of a few specific family budgets as a whole.[16] How much do families actually spend on food, clothing, health, recreation, and religious activities? How does a poor family compare with a rich family on the various items? What proportion of the expenditures are for subsistence, self-improvement, or economic investment?

We have estimated the approximate annual expenditures of seven families on each of the following items: food; basic household necessities; house upkeep, repair, and tax; clothing; education; health; religion and fiestas; diversion; investments; and miscellaneous. We will present again the two families for which we have already considered food expenditures.[17] It will be recalled that Family I is in the upper economic group and is made up of the parents and two adult children. Family II is one of the poorest families in the village and includes the parents and seven children. Table 52 presents a summary of the annual expenditures of each family.

---

[16] The study of family budgets in a community like Tepoztlán is beset with many difficulties. Illiteracy is high and most Tepoztecan families are not in the habit of keeping accounts of expenditures or income. In addition, there are attitudes of reserve and even suspicion concerning this type of investigation, so that intensive budget studies can be done only where rapport is excellent. Also, as we have seen earlier, there is much seasonal variation in diet and expenditures, and the prices of many items vary a great deal during the year, so that many adjustments have to be made in arriving at an accurate annual budget. To study income and expenditure for a few weeks and then assume a weekly average and multiply by 52 would not yield accurate results in the case of Tepoztlán. Ideally the investigator should live with a family for at least a year and keep a daily account of income and expenditures for the family. In practice this is not always feasible. It seriously limits the range of data that the anthropologist can get and is very time consuming; only a few families could be studied in this manner by a single investigator. In getting the budgets presented here, a combination of the intensive and extensive approaches was used. Detailed schedules were drawn up, and daily records were kept for a few families for periods ranging from two to eight weeks. In addition, budgets were reconstructed for the preceding year by questioning of family members. In general the data on expenditures were much more satisfactory than those on incomes. Also, we found repeatedly that income was below expenditures, a common phenomenon in budget studies of low income families in rural areas in the United States.

[17] See "Diet," p. 187.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Shoes represent an important expenditure in Family I, particularly for the daughter, who spent more on shoes than Family II did to clothe the entire family. In the former family, the expenditure for the children exceeds that for the parents; in the latter family, the largest expenditure is for the father. There is an appreciable difference in the quality of the clothing worn by both families.

### EDUCATION

The low proportion of money spent on educational materials by both families is notable. Family I no longer has children in school, but it spends a regular amount of money on newspapers and magazines which the daughter buys for the new dress styles.[10] Family II sent only two children to school in 1944.

### HEALTH

In 1944, Family I had more illness than Family II. The daughter was seriously ill with typhus and required a doctor from Cuernavaca. Approximately 100 pesos were spent to cure her. The family also contributed 80 pesos to cure the ailing grandmother. Family II had no serious illness; all colds, intestinal upsets, and infections were treated with home remedies. The mother gave birth to a baby during this year and was attended by a midwife. She received fourteen massages, and the cost of these plus the delivery was 8.24 pesos.

### RELIGION AND FIESTAS

Included under religious expenditures are taxes or contributions and money spent for flowers, candles, and incense. They are as follows:

| *Family I* | *Pesos* | *Family II* | *Pesos* |
|---|---|---|---|
| August—Barrio fiesta | 5.00 | August—Fiesta of barrio of Santa Cruz | .50 |
| November—Candles for Day of the Dead | 24.00 | September—Fiesta of Tepozteco | .25 |
| | | Fiesta of barrio of San Miguel | .50 |
| March—Carnaval | 10.00 | November—Candles for Day of the Dead | 8.00 |
| | | Flowers | .20 |
| April—Semana Santa | 3.00 | | |
| Church contributions at 40 centavos per month | 4.80 | December—Fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe | .25 |
| | | January—Fiesta of Santa María of Tepoztlán | .50 |
| | | Fiesta of Gabriel Mariaca | .10 |
| | | Candles | 1.00 |
| | | Flowers | .25 |
| | | Incense | .10 |
| | | February—Day of Candelaria | .25 |
| | | Constitution Day | .50 |

[10] It should be noted, however, that this family has spent a relatively large amount on education in the past, since both the children received advanced schooling.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



511
794

| *Family I (Cont.)* | *Pesos* | *Family II (Cont.)* | *Pesos* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | March—Carnaval | 6.00 |
| | | Fiesta of Chalma | .50 |
| | | Fiesta of Tlayacapan | .75 |
| | | Candles | .40 |
| | | April—Fiesta of Mazatepec | 2.00 |
| | | Saturday of Glory | .50 |
| | | May—Fiesta of barrio of Santa Cruz | .50 |
| | | Fiesta of Ixcatepec | 1.00 |
| | | June—Fiesta of barrio of La Santísima | |
| | | Music | 3.00 |
| | | Fireworks | 1.00 |
| | | Bullfight | 1.00 |
| | | Tax | 1.75 |
| | | Candles | 1.00 |
| | | Flowers | .25 |
| Total | 46.80 | Total | 32.05 |

There is a striking difference in the religious activity of the two families. Family I gives larger contributions but to a minimum number of fiestas; only a small regular contribution of 10 centavos is made to the church every Sunday. This family does not attend or contribute to the fiestas of other barrios or villages. The religious expenditures are only .8 per cent of the total family expenditures. Fiesta celebrations are generally in the form of a special fiesta meal for the family and visitors.

In contrast, the poor family makes smaller contributions but attends about four times as many fiestas, including fiestas of other barrios and villages and those of the central church. However, this family does not generally attend church on Sunday and makes no contribution there. This family bears out the local pattern in which [735] poor families in desperate economic circumstances eagerly support as many different fiestas as possible in the hope of obtaining the blessing and indulgence of one of the saints. A more generalized support of the central church is apparently too indirect and impersonal a way to achieve this. The religious expenditure of this family constitutes 3.2 per cent of its total annual expenditure, or proportionately four times that of Family I.

511
517

DIVERSION

Diversion other than that provided by the fiestas was as follows:

| *Family I* | *Pesos* | *Family II* | *Pesos* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Movies in Cuernavaca (including bus fare) | 64.80 | Fair of Jiutepec | 1.00 |
| | | Bus fare to visit daughter who works in Cuernavaca | 20.00 |
| | | Two tops and marbles for boys | .80 |
| Total | 64.80 | Total | 21.80 |

These expenditures constitute 1 per cent and 2 per cent of total annual expenditures for Family I and Family II, respectively.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



queror. His words were not threats but sad laments, "Oh, my sons, they have taken you out of my hands and I cannot help you. . . . Oh, you poor things, that I see you outside of my palace and my abode."[6] 175 797

The Indians heard his voice, and in fear went to Father Domingo de la Anunciación, saying that as a true father he should help his sons. He told them it was the work of the devil who, having lost, was now trying to frighten them away from the road of salvation. The Father advised the Indians to make the sign of the cross when they again heard the voice and thus to dispatch the devil.[6] The priests then placed large wooden crosses at every pathway leading to the village to keep out the god. The natives no longer reported hearing Ometochtli, but they continued to believe that he comes to the village when some calamity threatens.

The fight to eliminate aboriginal beliefs and practices continued. In an account of a Dominican priest in the late sixteenth century we learn of another incident:

> The demon was well entrenched in Tepoztlán, recognized by various kings and aided by great deceit and as a haughty man he very much resented his fall. This town had had great idols and the fame of its doctors was due to the fact that the demon had taught them the virtue of herbs so that they could deceive the rest of the people and even today despite the great care of the priests there still are found survivals of their communication with the demon as happened in my presence during this year of 1592 in the month of May.[7]

The incident referred to was as follows: The governor of Tepoztlán dedicated himself to the production of lime, burning the stone in a temporary oven; usually two days after the stone was burned, the lime was ready for use. But then it happened that despite all the burning and the passing of many days, the required lime was not produced. The governor, "who was an Indian of good understanding," suspected that it was due to some type of sorcery and he complained to the Dominicans, pointing out an Indian as the possible author of the sorcery. The Dominicans took this matter very seriously. They called in the accused, frightened him, and forced him to confess to the deed, saying that his father had given him an oration written on paper with which he could conjure at will the forces of the demon. The Dominicans immediately tried to exorcise the kiln and the stones, calling the villagers around so that they could be duly impressed by the power of the Virgin of the Rosary, to whom an invocation was made during the rites.

On the following day the rock was burned and the lime was produced. The Indian who was accused of witchcraft was punished, leaving the natives as amazed by his powers as a witch, as by the superior power of the priests. The Dominican author of this account observed that the demon had good reason to cry for having been displaced from among people over whom he had had such great influence. Even after seventy years of having been baptized into another faith, they still had pacts with him.

Slowly the Dominicans, like other religious orders in Spanish America, gathered [794 575]

[6] Dávila y Padilla, *Historia*, pp. 617-18.
[7] *Ibid.*

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



the natives into religious associations which facilitated the administrative and political functions of the colony.

*Cofradías* (brotherhoods) and *gremios* (societies) were organized under the auspices and protection of a saint. A *mayordomo* and other officials were chosen from among the *principales* and loyal supporters of the Crown. The system of *cofradías* had the following functions: (1) it facilitated formation of other organizations, such as cults of particular saints; (2) it simplified the collection of religious taxes; (3) it supplemented local police and helped seek out delinquents, escaped slaves, and others; (4) it aided in the collection of tribute; and (5) it provided extra companies of troops in times of emergency.

The church, united as it was with the state, became very strong. Church personnel were numerous and were paid from public funds. High public officials were obliged to preside over all religious processions and ceremonies. Religious fiestas, which greatly increased church income and stimulated local trade, became very numerous during the colonial period.

### *THE EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE DÍAZ REGIME*

The first years of Mexican independence from Spain passed almost unnoticed in Tepoztlán, where life changed very little. The church, aided by the guarantees of the plan of Iguala, continued to be united with the new state without any major changes in its organization. As a matter of fact, after being liberated from the colonial tribute, Tepoztecans were subject to an even greater tribute by the church in the form of the forced collection of the *diezmo*, a tax whereby Tepoztecans had to pay one-tenth of their produce to the church.

The first great change in the religious life of Tepoztlán occurred during the reform period of Juárez, when church and state were separated and church property confiscated. Until this time the church in Tepoztlán, as in most of Mexico, was the institution that stood for the status quo. After Juárez, the church became an aggressive force struggling against the state and became involved in the so-called Wars of the Reform, fighting against the liberal orientation of the Mexican government. While we have little specific data for Tepoztlán on this point, it may be assumed that the village was also affected and that some Tepoztecans worked through church associations against the government while others participated in the liberal ranks of the victorious party of Benito Juárez. Later, during the struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, who was blessed by the Pope and had the aid of the church, we know that liberalism had penetrated into Tepoztlán, for one of Tepoztecan's sons, General Prisciliano Rodríguez, organized a column of Tepoztecans and fought heroically against invading French troops. The church had indeed lost much of its old power.

The economic revolution brought about by the amortization of the wealth of the church produced a new oligarchy which, under President Díaz, again delivered itself into the arms of the church. In Tepoztlán the new upper class, the

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*caciques*, united the church and state and supported the church as a strong conservative force. During this period the church recuperated much of its former glory and once more, pompous religious fiestas were celebrated in the village. The church, the *caciques*, and the merchants all benefited by the increase in religious activity. Attendance at fiestas was very large and public officials were present. As some of our informants said, "Formerly, the people participated in religious fiestas much more than today because they believed attendance was compulsory. No one dared to miss church after they had been visited by an official and told to attend."

Not only did the public attend religious ceremonies but they spent much money on fireworks, candles, music, flowers, and so forth. An informant compared present religious participation with that during the Díaz regime as follows:

> In the religious ceremonies it was common to have large processions which consisted in carrying the saints through the streets and all believers followed with their candles and prayers. Today we no longer burn artificial *huacos* as formerly. Today the citizens no longer sacrifice as much to make a good barrio fiesta. Formerly they had as many as three or four bands of dancers. Today only a few barrios send a band of dancers to the fiestas.

During the Díaz period, religious taxes were collected as they had been in colonial times, that is, by the *huehuechiques*, who went from house to house asking for the contribution. Today this custom is almost gone; *huehuechiques* function only in the barrios of Santa Cruz and San Sebastián.

Participation in fiestas was claimed as a public service by the local government. The president ordered citizens to do certain tasks or play certain roles on pain of fine or other punishment. For example, we were told of one president:

> He commissioned eight or ten men to go to the mountains of Acaloqua and Calencuahiuchuy, both distant from Tepoztlán, to cut palms for the celebration of Palm Sunday since these palms could not be obtained from nearby areas. The men were not paid for the work, which was considered very difficult. The *caciques* received the best palms so that they might march in the procession.

The president also named commissions to collect flowers and adorn the temple. On Holy Thursday the president appointed men to play the role of the Jews. These men had to provide themselves with special suits and a long cape and mask. They had to rise at 2:00 A.M. to collect the images for the procession. This role had been very unpopular during the colonial period, not only for what it symbolized but because the villagers shouted insults and even spat at them. However, later the symbolism was forgotten, and the "Jews" were invited into the homes of those who had the images to be collected and were given *champurrado* and *semita* to eat.

Despite the Constitution of 1857 which specifically imposed separation of state and church, there was much fusion of the two at the time of Díaz. In Tepoztlán the president and councilmen attended Mass and the *rosario* in a body on January first, and after receiving the blessings of God held the first session of the year. On Ash Wednesday again all the local officials, the judges, and their employees re-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

### *THE REVOLUTION*

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Rojas, still resided in Mexico City and refused to return for fear of attack by the revolutionaries. During his absence some of his functions were carried on by *rezanderos*, laymen who knew from memory a great number of prayers for different occasions, such as for a dying man, a difficult delivery, the reappearance of lost or stolen articles, good crops, avoiding arguments in the family, keeping the husband from drinking too much, and so on. The *rezanderos* were kept busy in those difficult days and earned a comfortable income.

In the absence of the regular priest, a young priest was sent to the village in 1919. He energetically set about to put the church in order. He appointed new *mayordomos* of the *cofradías*, a new leader of the Asociación de la Divina Providencia, and a church *cantor*. But Tepoztecans seemed to have forgotten Catholic practices during the Revolution, and hardly anyone went to confession or Mass—despite the exhortations and threats of the Father.

The only practice the villagers still conscientiously clung to was baptism, and they were eager to baptize the children born during the Revolution. To get the people to attend church once more, the priest refused to baptize any child until the godparents were confessed. But Tepoztecans had forgotten the prayers and the formalities of confession and were afraid and embarrassed to appear before the priest. As a result, they were unwilling to become godparents. Parents were then forced to ask the few *rezanderos* who had kept their connections with the church to be the *padrinos* of their children. These men eventually monopolized the godparentage of the village and even came to charge for this service. One *rezandero* had about one hundred godchildren. Needless to say, the *rezanderos* were unable and unwilling to fulfill their obligations as godfathers, and scarcely recognized their godchildren. The parents considered the original godparent of their choice as the true godparent, rather than the *padrinos rezanderos* who were forced upon them.

When the village was more peaceful the regular priest returned with some of the *cacique* families, and religious life became normal once again—but without its former splendor. Fiestas were again celebrated, the popular Carnaval again held. The ban against baptism without confession was lifted and anyone might serve as godparent.

But the new tranquillity was soon to be shattered, this time by the Catholic Church which feared restraining measures of the post-revolutionary government. The church adopted a policy of non-cooperation and active resistance. On July 31, 1926, the archbishop of Mexico ordered all priests to leave the churches and to cease public religious services. Faithful Catholics were called upon to withdraw their children from the public schools to protect them from "socialist teaching." Priests were instructed to give Mass and to administer the sacraments in a clandestine manner.

In Tepoztlán these church orders resulted in the priest's once again leaving for Mexico City, and religious activity waned. The most important prayers and ceremonies were conducted secretly by one of the more able *rezanderos*, Don Francisco

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



794 Cortés Sedano, who had been selected by the priest for this purpose. The priest wrote
796 frequent letters to Sedano, giving instructions and sending church literature for his use. The giving of Mass was a special problem since it required the presence of an ordained priest. In a letter to Cortés Sedano the priest offered a solution:

> One thing appears essential to me and that is that since it is not possible to celebrate Holy Mass with solemnity and the attendance of the faithful in person they might be told to congregate in their respective chapels at a convenient hour and there unite themselves in spirit with the priest who will celebrate it in the name of the contributors. This may be done for the days of the Holy Jubilee and for fiestas of each village and barrio. Propose this to the people concerned, for I believe the pious ones will be entirely satisfied. Please say ahead of time who have accepted this proposition so that I may fulfill their wishes on the days they designate. They may be certain that I will carry out this obligation. The charge now is five pesos, as an aid to the priests. But those who cannot give it all at once can give as much as they are able. You are charged with sending it and if they wish I will send a receipt by return mail.

779 The priest also made suggestions as to which books or pamphlets should be read
794 to the congregation. For example, in a letter dated January 30, 1929, two and one-half years after he had left Tepoztlán, the priest urged Cortés Sedano to use the following pamphlets: "Prisoner of Love," "A Visit to the Altar," "My Vote for Christ the King," "One Year More," "Where Are You Going, My Son?" and others. These tracts, written in great numbers and printed in secret presses, played an important role in the church program; some were simply of a religious nature but others, such as "My Vote for Christ the King," incited armed uprising against the government.

794 Cortés Sedano, as the priest's representative in the village, bore the burden of the
669 struggle. He collected money for the church, distributed the many "subversive" leaflets exhorting Catholics to join the fight against the government and gain supporters among the faithful. He was also in contact with the Cristero movement which was then opposing the government with arms in the states of Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Michoacan. His attempts to arouse similar action in Tepoztlán failed. Pro-government forces—the CROM, the Fraternales, and the Bolsheviki were
[665] stronger in the village at that time and resisted the Cristero movement. A band of Cristeros once attempted to take over Tepoztlán with arms, but the village was defended by former Zapatistas, and the Cristeros were dispersed. After this incident Francisco Cortés Sedano was imprisoned as an agent of the Cristeros and the church. He was apprehended by ten federal soldiers and placed in the local jail under the supervision of José Rivera, then president of the municipio. A group of Cortés Sedano's supporters brought the prisoner tequila, salt, and lemons to comfort him.

One woman had the temerity to scold José Rivera soundly for arresting anyone on Good Friday and for offending the Lord by working on that day, an act only a Pilate would do. Her words amused the villagers and for the rest of his life the president was called "José Pilato." Cortés Sedano feared for his life but the Zapatistas

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



did not shoot him. The morning after the battle with the Cristeros, Cortés Sedano was removed to the Cuernavaca prison and two days later was released by the governor with a warning. Cortés Sedano returned to the village and continued his religious work but abandoned the Cristero movement.

## *ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TODAY*

The church of Tepoztlán is an integral part of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and is under the jurisdiction of a hierarchy of authorities, most of whom are outside of the municipio. Most of the characteristics of the local church are similar to Catholic churches everywhere, but a few are unique, if not to Tepoztlán, then to Mexico. For example, the Catholic Church is a highly centralized, authoritarian organization in which officials and prelates are appointed by their superiors and in which all policy is laid down by those in high positions. But in Tepoztlán, as in other Mexican villages, there is a democratic element in the election of *mayordomos* and a marked freedom in the conduct of all secular aspects of religious affairs, such as the maintenance of the barrio chapels, the celebrations of fiestas, and the collection of money for these fiestas.

Added to this type of local autonomy is the fact that the church in Tepoztlán is not a dynamic, militant organization and interferes only minimally in the private lives of the villagers. In general it is tolerant toward practices of magic, sorcery, and paganism, and toward drunkenness. Even the few Protestants have been left to go their own way. This situation is, in part, due to the passivity or disinterest of the local priest, who is himself a native Tepoztecan and tolerant of local traditions.

The arrival of a group of nuns in 1945 injected an aggressive religious attitude in the local church, for these women have actively applied pressure upon the villagers to live more Catholic lives. They have established a school to compete with the public school; they urge parents to attend services, to confess, and to have their children baptized, confirmed, and instructed in doctrine. They make frequent visits to homes, seek out those living in free union or married only by civil law and exhort them to have church marriages, and finally, they have attempted to convert several Protestants.

The complex organization of the church includes seven levels of ecclesiastic hierarchy. (See Chart 3.) The first and highest in the nation is the archbishop of Mexico. He maintains connections with Tepoztlán through the medium of circulars, pastorals, and general orders. Few if any Tepoztecans have ever seen him. Next is the bishop of Cuernavaca who is in charge of the churches in the state of Morelos. He visits Tepoztlán about once every five years, but has been seen occasionally by Tepoztecans when in Cuernavaca.

On the third level in the hierarchy is the local priest, the main figure in the central church of Tepoztlán (see Fig. 50), and the highest spiritual authority in the municipio. The fact that he is a native of Tepoztlán has facilitated his work there. Tepoztecans feel more comfortable with this priest than with all of his "foreign" predecessors, and are less inclined to complain and criticize him. His lack of

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



mysticism and religious fervor and his attitude of detachment suits them well. However, being a native son has diminished somewhat the aura of respect which generally surrounds a village priest and has encouraged some Tepoztecans to make direct appeals to him to lower his fees and to settle family conflicts and personal problems. He has also been drawn into some small conflicts, a result of which was his being denounced to the archbishop of Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans.

Chart 3. Religious hierarchy of Tepoztlán.

In the fourth place are the Monjas Carmelitas, the aforementioned nuns, who, although a recent addition, are to reside permanently in the village. These nuns are all outsiders and are treated with great respect by Tepoztecans. In addition to their other activities, the nuns have assumed the direction of some of the religious associations, particularly the *Juventud de Acción Católica*. They have greatly extended the activities and increased the membership of these associations and by their work have brought about a religious revival in Tepoztlán.

On the fifth level of the hierarchy are various lay functionaries of the church. These are: (1) The sacristan or sexton hired by the priest as his personal aid and caretaker of the church building. Specifically, the duties of the sacristan are to help the priest dress for ceremonial occasions, to memorize several prayers in Latin in order to assist at Mass, to care for the altar and the sacred vessels, to clean the temple, and to keep a record of the priest's religious program. At the time of this study the sacristan was a young unmarried man of twenty of an acculturated family in the barrio of Santo Domingo. He was paid a wage of from three to five pesos a day and more on certain fiesta days when there is an excess of work.

(2) The cantor or church singer is an assistant to the sacristan but is selected by the priest and responsible to him. He is expected to play the organ and sing religious songs in Spanish and Latin. He participates in the singing during Mass

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



and in leading the hymns and *Te Deums*. He is paid one peso for each Mass and fifty centavos for each *Te Deum*.

(3) The *rezanderos* are men who make a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring themselves out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. For example, if someone loses a horse or cow and wishes to ask San Pedro to help him find the animal he will pay one or two pesos to a *rezandero* to go to the chapel in the barrio of San Pedro and recite the appropriate prayer.

Although the *rezandero* is not recognized by the church as a functionary he is thought of as such by the populace. Some *rezanderos* play an important role in local religious life and enjoy certain prestige. The more skilled have a large repertory of prayers and deliver them with the impressive skill of a priest. It is interesting to note that the two most important *rezanderos*, both of whom were our informants, were also political leaders; one in the Cristero movement, the other in the opposing leftist group. The latter, incidentally, became the first Protestant in Tepoztlán. At present there are approximately ten *rezanderos* in the village and the majority of these live in the barrio of Santo Domingo.

(4) The members and respective officers of the religious associations are a type of lay church functionaries. Many of these associations were founded in colonial times and had a long history of ups and downs. They suffered misfortunes during the struggle for independence and during the Reform and the Revolution but were always reorganized in times of peace. Some of these associations are national and international in character, such as the Asociación Guadalupana, the Apostolado de la Oración, and the Acción Católica; others are essentially local and lack external ties. We shall describe the more important of these organizations.

a) The Asociación de la Vela Perpetua, the objective of which is to give homage to the *Santísimo Sacramento* by permanently maintaining a lighted candle on the altar. The Asociación consists of thirty-one women who identify themselves by wearing a medal suspended on a white ribbon. Each member dedicates one day a month to keeping vigil at the altar. Membership is limited to the maximum number of days in a month and this society is considered honorific and select. In the days of Díaz only the wives of *caciques* were members. The organization has a president, secretary, and treasurer; apart from its routine religious activity, this society serves no other social function.

b) Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración celebrates the first Friday of each month. Although men may join, the present membership consists of twenty-five to thirty women. The distinguishing mark is a medal worn on a red ribbon. It is interesting to note that although this organization has different levels of membership to stimulate the mystic devotion of its members, in Tepoztlán the members fulfill only the rituals of the first order without aspiring to the superior orders.

c) Asociación Guadalupana celebrates the twelfth day of each month in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Membership is made up of thirty women.

d) The Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen is a sisterhood of about thirty women who celebrate the sixteenth day of each month. The scapulary of the Virgen del

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Carmen is used widely in the village because of the numerous virtues attributed to it. It is useful to frighten away devils and other fear-inspiring beings. It also saves lives by deflecting bullets or machetes. If carried at the time of death, it insures the possibility of "dying well" and the certainty that the Virgen del Carmen will soon remove the soul from purgatory. For these reasons approximately three hundred men, women, and children customarily carry this scapulary.

e) Sagrado Corazón de Jesús celebrates Mass on the first Friday of each month in homage to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Again membership consists of thirty women. This association is considered most powerful because its members are "the best women in the village." The present president is the priest's sister.

f) Asociación de la Adoración Nocturna is made up exclusively of men. The forty members are obliged to confess each month and keep vigil all night of the first Saturday of each month, praying and giving praise to the Holy One. On the following Sunday each member takes communion. However, this society scarcely functions because the majority of the members refuse to fulfill the requirement of confession.

g) Acción Católica de Jóvenes Mexicanos consists of two sections, one for each of the sexes. There are about eighty youths and thirty girls in the organization. The members work to arouse the religious spirit of the people, to organize fiestas to raise funds, and to attract the youth to join. Under the stimulation of the nuns this organization has become extremely active. For the first time, young Tepoztecans have manifested a militant Catholicism of a modern type and have become interested in understanding the religious dogma and in recruiting new members. It is also the only religious association which has a sense of solidarity and imposes mutual obligations upon its members. Members visit each other when ill, celebrate each other's birthdays, and attend weddings and funerals.

h) Vanguardia is an association for children from seven to fourteen years of age. They are required to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion every Sunday. Membership varies considerably during the year.

Other associations which function only once or twice a year also exist. Some of these are the Hermandád de las Ánimas which celebrates All Saints' Day on November first, the Sociedád de la Virgen de la Natividad which is in charge of preparations for the fiesta of the patron of the village on September eighth. Before the Revolution there was an Asociación de Caridad called San Vicente de Paul which distributed food and clothing to the poor. The society disappeared during the Revolution and was never reorganized.

(5) The *mayordomos*, religious leaders of the barrios, are important functionaries in connection with religious fiestas. They decide how the fiesta is to be celebrated, whether or not to have Mass sung, or to have a sermon, or to invite additional priests, and so on. They arrange for all these services, for the band of musicians, for fireworks, and for whatever else they decide to have. They frequently must spend their own funds to produce a successful fiesta. They also generally serve *mole* and tamales and *ponche* to large numbers of people.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



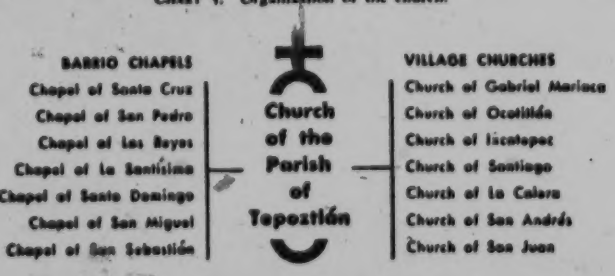
794 In addition to barrio *mayordomos* there are *mayordomos* of the chapels of the
[628] seven surrounding villages. Occasionally the people of these villages select someone in Tepoztlán to be their *mayordomo*, as did Ixcatepec in electing a young man from the barrio of San Pedro in Tepoztlán.

[778] There are also several *mayordomos* of an inferior category who are in charge of certain images. Thus, for example, in the barrio of Santa Cruz there is a *mayordomo* to care for the Virgen del Rosario situated in the barrio chapel.

The *mayordomos* have several assistants whom we include on the sixth level of religious functionaries. The *limosneros* are permanent functionaries who collect the taxes from house to house. These men, attired in their clean Sunday clothes and carrying a plate on which is a spray of Bougainvillaea or some other red flowers, visit every house asking for contributions, such as "A *limosna* for the image of the *Divino Rostro* whose day is to be celebrated on Sunday." One type of *limosnero* of special interest is the *huehuechique*, who can say Catholic prayers in Náhuatl and
[621] who collects money for the New Year. At one time there were many *huehuechiques* but now there is only one in the barrio of Santa Cruz.

[533] Among those who assist the *mayordomos* and who animate the barrio fiestas are the musicians. When there is not enough money to hire a professional band from Cuernavaca or Mexico City, the *mayordomos* will hire local musicians. Other assistants clean the local chapel and repair the masonry. The *danzantes* who
[535] dance in honor of the barrio saint are also temporary functionaries. It is the task of the *mayordomo* to organize dance groups and to persuade parents to permit their
[788] children to participate. Still another temporary functionary is the *mayordomo* in charge of organizing religious peregrinations to other parts of Mexico.

CHART 4. Organization of the church.




On the seventh level of the religious hierarchy are the faithful members of the church. It is from among the more pious of these that a regular congregation and members of the religious associations are drawn; almost everyone in the village, however, participates at some time in religious activities, in barrio fiestas, and in
[476] the *cuatequitl del santo*, which is the collective working of the milpas dedicated to the support of particular saints.

[648] All Tepoztecans, whether pious or not, contribute money to the church; indeed, the church of Tepoztlán is entirely self-supporting and does not require sub-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



sidies from the church of Mexico. Rather, it makes substantial contributions to the national church of Mexico.

The church of Tepoztlán includes the seven villages of the municipio and controls fourteen village and barrio chapels. This is illustrated in Chart 4.

Summarizing the total personnel of the church of the municipio of Tepoztlán we find the following:

| *Functionary* | *Number* |
|---|---|
| Priest of the parish | 1 |
| Sexton | 1 |
| Cantor | 1 |
| *Mayordomos* of the barrios | 7 |
| *Mayordomos* of the villages | 7 |
| *Monjas Carmelitas* | 8 |
| *Rezanderos* | 10 |
| *Limosneros* | 42 |
| *Mayordomos* of the images | 28 |
| *Mayordomos* of peregrinations | 15 |
| Functionaries in charge of cleaning the chapels and the temple | 37 |
| Total | 157 |

## *CHURCH FINANCES*

As has been pointed out earlier, the church in Tepoztlán not only supports itself but also sends contributions to the bishop in Cuernavaca. It is difficult to do more than approximate the annual income of the church because of variation in contributions from year to year. Records of church income were not available to us and probably were not kept. However, we have more or less accurate data on the most important sources of income. In the following pages we will present a conservative estimate of this income.

### BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND FUNERALS

Our data indicate an average of 273 live births in the municipio over a six-year period. There are two classes of baptism, one a simple type at three pesos and the other with the ringing of the bells at four pesos. Assuming that the number of baptisms is about equally divided between these two types, we get a total annual income from baptisms of 956 pesos.

The charge for the *sacamisa* (the Mass said for a mother forty days after the birth of a child) is two pesos if said from the *cancel* and one peso if said from the altar. Again assuming about an equal number of each type, we have a yearly income of 408 pesos.

The priest charges twelve pesos for a simple marriage ceremony and twenty to twenty-five pesos for a more elaborate wedding. It is difficult to determine exactly how many weddings are simple and how many are elaborate. It is our im-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



pression that most church weddings in Tepoztlán are of the second type, that is, *con ceremonia*. Judging from the marriage statistics, there is an average of about twenty-five church weddings a year. Assuming that twelve are of the elaborate type and thirteen of the simple type, we get an income of 426 pesos a year.

Another source of income is from the ceremonies at death and burial. The simple benediction for a dead child costs five pesos; benediction with *vigilias* costs thirty pesos; for going to the home of the deceased and praying, and then saying a Mass in the church and later at the cemetery, the cost is forty pesos.

The number of deaths in the municipio over a six-year period was 101, one-fourth of which was infant mortality. From this data we can calculate the church income. There is considerable variation in the costs of funerals. Often the rich will take only the simplest ceremony, while the poor will go into debt for an elaborate funeral. We can assume that about 60 per cent of the adult deaths yielded an income of at least 30 pesos to the church and the rest yielded about 40 pesos. We therefore get the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 Benedictions for infants at 5 pesos each | 125 |
| 46 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 30 pesos each | 1,380 |
| 30 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 40 pesos each | 1,200 |
| Total | 2,705 |

GENERAL MASSES

Here we can consider the Mass said in memory of the dead once a year; those paid by the religious associations in the village; and Masses said on Sundays and fiesta days.

It is customary to have a Mass said on the anniversary of the death of a close relative for at least two years, and some continue for much longer. Thus, given 101 deaths a year we can assume that at least eighty per cent will have Masses said the first year, sixty per cent the second year, and thirty per cent the third year. This would mean 180 Masses a year. These Masses have three prices: simple Mass for 2 pesos, a sung Mass for 11 pesos, and a Mass with a sermon for 40 pesos. The priest encourages the people to have Mass said for their dead and points out that the more elaborate the ceremony, the better the dead will fare in purgatory. Even the poor try to have the most elaborate Mass. Still, we will assume that at least 50 per cent of the Masses for the dead are simple, about 25 per cent are sung, and 25 per cent include a sermon. This yields the following income:

| | |
|---|---|
| 90 Masses at 2 pesos each | 180 |
| 45 Masses at 11 pesos each | 495 |
| 45 Masses at 40 pesos each | 1,800 |
| Total | 2,475 |

In addition, we must add the money collected by the priest on the Days of the Dead when he says Mass for the dead as a whole, but mentions in particular the names of those who pay a three-peso fee. Informants believe he receives about 400

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



pesos from such Masses, giving a total of 2,875 pesos as income from Masses for the dead.

The ten religious associations in the village are each obliged to pay for 12 Masses a year in honor of the particular patron saint of the association. Their Masses are always sung and followed by a sermon and should cost 40 pesos, but the priest gives them a special price and charges only 25 pesos. The income from 120 Masses is, therefore, 3,000 pesos a year. On Sundays and holy days the priest says two Masses which are free of charge. However, those who assist Mass are expected to make some contribution. Assuming that an average of 150 persons assist weekly at each of the two Masses and that each contributes ten centavos, we get a weekly income of 30 pesos. If we add eight days for special holy days to the 52 Sundays, we get 60 days with an income of 30 pesos daily, or 1,800 pesos a year. In addition, approximately 100 persons attend church daily and contribute about 10 centavos each, making an annual total of 3,650 pesos. In summary then, we find a total of 11,325 pesos received from Masses, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Masses for the dead | 2,875 |
| Masses for the religious associations | 3,000 |
| Masses on Sundays and holy days | 1,800 |
| Daily Masses | 3,650 |
| Total | 11,325 |

FIESTAS

The priest charges 75 pesos for officiating at each barrio fiesta and at the village fiestas. For this price he says three Masses and a sermon. With seven barrios and seven villages he has an income of 1,575 pesos a year.

OTHER SOURCES

The priest charges 20 centavos for praying the *evangelios* and 20 centavos for singing the responses. In addition he has occasional income from extraordinary requests for prayers or Masses. Informants who aided us with this study of church income estimate about 300 pesos as a minimum from these sources. In summary we find the total church income as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Income from baptisms | 956 |
| Income from *sacamisas* | 408 |
| Income from marriages | 426 |
| Income from ritual for the dead | 2,705 |
| Income from Masses | 11,325 |
| Income from barrio and village fiestas | 1,575 |
| Income from other sources | 300 |
| Total | 17,695 |

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



CHURCH EXPENSES

794 The only expense of the priest, apart from his own living expenses, is the salary of the sacristan which is approximately 1,200 pesos a year. The salary of the church singer is paid by the churchgoers. The ceremonial clothing and ceremonial objects [796] are not replaced often, and when the occasion arises, special collections are made for this purpose.

## *THE ANNUAL CYCLE OF RELIGIOUS FIESTAS*

796 The religious fiestas in which Tepoztecans participate are of four types: (1) the barrio fiestas in which each barrio celebrates its patron saint; (2) the village-wide fiestas which celebrate the holy days in the central church; (3) the fiestas of other surrounding villages of the municipio; and (4) the fiestas of villages and towns outside the municipio. In all, there are a total of 63 named fiestas in which Tepoztecans participate. Of these, 27 are village-wide fiestas, 12 are barrio fiestas (some barrios celebrate two separate days), 7 are fiestas of surrounding villages within the municipio, and 7 are fiestas of villages outside the municipio.

Of the village-wide fiestas, the most important are the Carnaval, Ash Wednesday, the fiestas of Holy Week, the fiestas for El Tepozteco and María on September 8, the blessing of the *pericón* on September 28, the Days of the Dead, and the Days of the Posadas.

It is difficult to estimate accurately the total number of days during the year devoted to the fiestas. Some of the 63 fiestas last three or four days, and a conservative total estimate would be about 100 days. It would be quite erroneous, however, to conclude that most Tepoztecans spend approximately a third of the year in fiestas. Most fiestas are attended by only a small portion of the population. Certainly less than five per cent of the populace attend the 14 fiestas of the surround- [628] ing villages and other towns. And less than ten per cent of the villagers attend the [621] fiestas of barrios other than their own. And there are probably only about a half-dozen village-wide fiestas during the year in which the village as a whole participates. Much time is also consumed in preparations which may begin two to four weeks before the celebration of the fiesta.

Barrio fiestas follow a more or less definite pattern. The religious ceremonial which takes place within the barrio chapel is generally celebrated with three Masses given by the priest. The first Mass is called *preparación;* the second, *función;* and the third, *consumir.* The first two are conducted *sin vinar* (without taking wine), but in the third, the priest takes the sacred wine. In the afternoon the priest conducts the *exposición del Santísimo,* some church music is played and sung, and finally a *rosario* is prayed. If the barrio has insufficient funds, some parts of the ceremonial are dispensed with.

The secular aspects of barrio fiestas overshadow the religious aspects in popularity [541] and attendance. These festivities generally consist of a display of fireworks, both day and night, which have been arranged on a *castillo* or wooden framework. The

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



*castillo*, in the shape of a bull, is most often used. Entertainment may also be supplied by a *jaripeo*, which is a type of rodeo devoted to a display of roping and mounting bulls. Music may be supplied by a band of hired musicians, and some fiestas include groups of religious dancers. Finally, all in the barrio, except the poorest families, prepare a meal of *mole* and other festal dishes and entertain visitors from other barrios or villages. Those who participate in a fiesta, dress in their best clothing, often purchasing new clothing for this annual occasion.

Barrio fiestas and some village-wide fiestas are supported by popular subscriptions which are more in the nature of voluntary taxes. The *mayordomo* of each fiesta collects the money in a ceremony called the *Moxotlaloyan y Cerapah* at the place where the money for candles for the church is paid. A similar payment is made for the *castillo*, either at the same time or, in some cases, in a separate ceremony called the *castillopah*. This ceremony is usually held one day after the fiesta so as to collect the *limosna* a year in advance. The amount paid is generally fifty centavos, or one peso, according to how much had been promised to the *santo* the year before. The people, who had been reminded earlier of the coming payment by the *huehuechique* or *limosnero*, convene at the *mayordomo's* house to leave their money. Upon payment, each receives a portion or two, according to the amount contributed, of *mole verde*, tamales, and a drink called *tepache*.[8] Contributions are carefully recorded and there have been few cases of misuse of these funds.

The calendar of religious fiestas is a typical Catholic calendar which includes moveable and fixed fiesta days. The dates upon which many of the fiestas fall are calculated from the key date, Ash Wednesday.[9]

## *RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS*

Just as the cycle of religious fiestas in Tepoztlán follows Catholic practice, with some local modifications, so does the individual Tepoztecan. Only a few persons, mostly women, in the village fulfill all the ritual and other obligations set by the priest and church. These people are looked upon by the rest as fanatics who are "always dressing the saints." The priest does not consider his flock to be "good Catholics." The older people maintain a respectful passivity toward most church activities, while the adult males and many older youths, although not irreligious, tend to scoff at the nuns, the Acción Católica and other "fanatics." Among these recalcitrants there is much more interest in the barrio fiestas and one or two of the nearby village fiestas than in the regular daily and weekly religious acts which are required of them. On the other hand, the nuns and the religious associations tend to emphasize the latter. The school, too, so far unsuccessfully, discourages attending fiestas because of the disastrous effects upon school attendance. Regular participation in church ritual is associated with becoming "more cultured." Those who go to boarding schools or who have occasion to live in Mexico City for some time

[8] This ceremony has been described in detail by Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 99-100.

[9] See Appendix D, "Fiesta Calendar of Tepoztlán," p. 458. For a more detailed description of the fiestas, see Redfield's chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days," in *Tepoztlán*, pp. 83-132.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



771 learn to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion more often than is customary in the village.

788 Prayers for various occasions are memorized by Tepoztecans. The older generation learn them in Náhuatl, the younger in Spanish. The people do not know how [782] to improvise prayers, and when their memory fails they prefer to keep silent, or merely cross themselves, or kiss a scapulary to invoke the protection of the appropriate saint. The obligatory morning prayers are seldom said with regularity. Some of the old people still say a prayer at noon when the bell of the municipal clock strikes; the men remove their hats and give thanks to God because they still have strength to work. When the evening church bell rings, the men are again supposed to take off their hats and the women to kneel to give thanks because the day has passed without mishap. We cannot estimate the number of people who fulfill the latter obligation, but in all the time we were in the village we never observed anyone kneeling in prayer outside the church. But men returning home from the fields lift their hats respectfully whenever they pass a cross, and on the bus from Tepoztlán to Cuernavaca all hats go up in unison each time a church is passed. [782] Some Tepoztecans recite prayers on special occasions, such as planting corn, lighting a charcoal furnace, or pruning a tree.

794 As indicated earlier, most Tepoztecans do not feel strongly the need to attend 796 Mass every Sunday or even on holy days. On the basis of our own observations and informants' estimates, it appears that, on the average, about two hundred, mostly women, attend church on Sundays. The 6:00 A.M. Mass is preferred; those who attend the 8:00 A.M. Mass risk being called lazy. Mass, like other public gath- [883] erings, is a welcome form of diversion. It is one of the opportunities for sweethearts to see one another; young people are said to attend not out of devotion but to flirt. [292] Everyone puts on his best clothes for Mass. The older men wear huaraches, white *calzones*, and shirts; the youths wear trousers and modern shirts, and many wear jackets. The women use *rebozos* to cover their heads. Upon entering the church, [788] the women cross themselves with holy water and take seats up toward the front. The men generally do not cross themselves and remain in the rear. Some of the youths stand at one side of the nave, leaning against the pillars so as to be able to see the girls during the service. The children sit with their mothers and sisters. Five- and ten-centavo pieces are dropped into the plate passed by the sacristan.

After Mass the young men are the first to leave. They remain at the church door, talking, joking, and laughing quietly among themselves, until the girls appear. The [273] older men are the next to leave the church, and then the women. Most of the men go off to drink, while the women go home in little groups of relatives.

527 Tepoztecans do not rigorously observe Sunday or other holy days as days of 796 rest. During planting and harvesting, everyone works in the fields, and the storekeepers in the center who profit by the week-end tourist trade always work on Sundays and holidays. Informants say, "It is no sin to work on Sunday when it is done out of necessity." Some of the very old people believe that he who works on Sunday ruins himself economically for the rest of the week.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Tepoztecans do not like to confess; the majority do so only once a year. Not giving much importance to sin, Tepoztecans do not regard confession as necessary. Most men consider confession important only when one is about to die but "with the pangs of death, who's going to remember to confess properly?" Women, particularly married women, are less reluctant to confess, and about fifty women are known to take communion and confess quite often. Through the Acción Católica the number of young people of both sexes who do this has increased. Perhaps the most important deterrent to confession, especially among the older people, is that the priest may exact from the confessor the recitation of certain prayers which most people cannot say accurately. Fearing a scolding from the priest, they prefer to avoid the situation. There is no such difficulty with communion. "We would all take communion more often if we didn't have to confess; that we always avoid."

In general, the Tepoztecan feels obliged to contribute to the church and does so by paying *limosnas*. There is a belief that he who refuses to give alms will find that no one receives his soul in heaven and that therefore he must go to hell. He who always gives alms finds that when he dies and his soul goes to heaven, "the Saint to whom he has given alms comes to receive the soul and intercedes with God to allow him to enter, and so he gets to heaven." Thus, when a Tepoztecan lights a candle to some saint or deposits a coin or two in the box, he considers himself deserving of the protection of that saint.

Tithes, which were obligatory and were collected by the government for the church before the Revolution, no longer exist. The local priest, however, hires a *limosnero* at harvest time to go about the fields, riding on a mule, to collect contributions from the farmers. As a rule, each farmer gives about twelve ears of corn, so that the priest collects a good amount for his stores.

Religious beliefs in Tepoztlán reflect Tepoztecan social character and world view. The profoundly practical nature of Tepoztecans precludes religious fantasy, mysticism, and any preoccupation with metaphysics; they seek from religion concrete solutions to problems of daily life and go about it in as direct a manner as their religion permits. Their religious world, like the world in which they live, is full of hostile forces and punishing figures which must be propitiated to secure good will and protection. The act of propitiation is direct and simple, consisting of giving something or doing something which is known to please a particular saint, such as lighting a candle, giving a few coins, offering flowers, burning incense, reciting a special prayer, or performing a certain dance; these offerings incur an obligation on the part of the recipient to favor the donor.

As in most mestizo communities in Mexico and Central America, Tepoztecan religious beliefs represent a fusion of Catholic and pagan elements. The people's concept of God is vague at best; the one characteristic which is clear to Tepoztecans is that he is a punishing God who acts in ways hostile to men. Most misfortunes are ascribed to him; good fortune rarely.

The Holy Trinity is viewed as consisting of three distinct gods. One is God the Father, who is usually pictured with a long, white beard and a large ball in his

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherin, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



sions, "when I am dead," or "when I am underground," in conversation. There is no attempt to protect children from the facts of death. Children of all ages attend wakes, view the corpses, participate in funeral processions and at burials. Little emotion is expressed about death or the dead, although close relatives of the recent dead may shed brief tears if the subject is discussed. Grief is restrained but varies somewhat according to the age and status of the deceased.

The death of an old person or an infant causes relatively little disturbance, that of a parent or adult who is still in full vigor, or of a grown son or daughter, much more so. Reactions to the death of a husband or wife depend upon the quality of the marital relationship but, again, is rarely demonstrative. Suicide is uncommon, and in no case has anyone ever killed himself because of the death of a loved one.

At death, Tepoztecans are concerned with the release of the soul from the body and with its journey to heaven. It is said that under certain circumstances it is difficult for a person to give himself up to death, and the agony of dying is prolonged. Witches and some *curanderos* are said to die "very badly," that is, slowly, losing consciousness and fainting without being able to give up their soul, because they need time to repent all the evil things they have done. Prostitutes also suffer a difficult death, "because they supported themselves with their own bodies. These women see terrible visions, figures which threaten to drag them off, and in their agony they scratch at the bedclothes and at their own faces and hands." Often children "cannot die until they receive a benediction from their parents or godparents." Also a father or mother "cannot die if their children cry too much." In such cases the children are taken away, to hasten death. When death comes, the soul leaves the body and may be seen as a figure, resembling the deceased, leaving the house, and Tepoztecans say, ". . . this is his soul which walks without touching the ground and without showing its face although it wears no hat. It is very white, like foam, and disappears when it touches something."

It is believed that when a person is about to die "his eyes go up and become whitish, his nose sharpens, his hands get cold and still, and his body becomes loose." At these signs, the dying person is taken from the bed and placed on a *petate* on the floor in a corner. He is covered with a sheet, his clothing is removed, and he is dressed in clean clothes. After death he is placed on a table and covered with a sheet, so that "those of little spirit" will not be made ill at the sight of the corpse. A newspaper is spread on the *petate*, and a cross of sand and lime is fashioned on the newspaper.[5] Flowers are placed above the cross, and a candle, which burns day and night for nine days, is placed at the head of the *petate*. If the deceased is a man, his sombrero and huaraches are laid next to the candle; if a woman, her *reboso* is placed there. The clothing of the dead person is washed and ironed and placed at the head of the *petate*. A *rezandero* is hired by the bereaved family to come to the house to pray twice a day, at noon and in the evening, for nine days. The women of the house are required to be present and to kneel in prayer.

[5] A similar custom is reported for Mitla. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 141.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



764 A wake is held day and night, and friends, relatives, and *compadres* come to keep vigil. The family serves coffee, alcohol, bread, and cigarettes, the cost of which is a burden to the poor. Some of the visitors leave a few coins to help pay the expenses, but the majority do not. The more kindly disposed, close relatives may voluntarily offer financial or other assistance, and most godparents fulfill their [608] obligation to provide a coffin, burial clothing, and perhaps music at the death of a godchild.

[273] During the wake men and women pray together, but after each prayer the men separate to drink and play cards in order to keep awake. On the following day a few of the men go to the cemetery to dig the grave. The deceased is placed in a coffin and carried to the cemetery, with mourners preceding and following the coffin. Some funerals, particularly those of important persons or members of the [766] Acción Católica, enter the church before proceeding to the burial place. After burial, a cross with the name and date of death is placed on the grave. On the *novena*, or ninth day, the ceremony of the raising of the cross takes place at a night wake similar to the one held on the day of death. This time, however, an offering of tamales, *mole verde*, oranges, chocolate, cooked chicken, and bread is placed on the house altar for the deceased. The offering is left there for twelve hours, each [775] hour corresponding to one month of the year, so that the deceased will have food for the entire year.

For the ceremony of the raising of the cross, two boys and girls, who are nonrelatives, are selected by the kin of the deceased to act as *padrinos*. The children carry flowers and, accompanied by the *rezandero*, walk toward the *petate* on which is the cross of lime and sand. The *padrinos* stand on either side of the cross, while the *rezandero* recites special prayers. Meanwhile, the children take small brooms, which must be new, and sweep the sand and lime together, gather it on a tray, and later take it to the grave. The clothing which had been left on the *petate* is now also raised. As each article is picked up, the *padrinos* recite the following prayer: "Rise up, soul of Christ, awake if you are asleep. God is looking for you to accompany you to heaven." After the cross and the clothing have been raised, the prayer hymns (*alabadas*) are sung in honor of the dead.

[794] It is also customary to ring the barrio chapel bells the day after the death. If a special fee is paid, the bells of the central church will be rung, and the priest will perform a benediction for the deceased.

One year after the death, another wake may be held and a special Mass arranged. In some families, members visit the grave with flowers.

766 A child's funeral is somewhat different. Tepoztecans adhere to the Catholic be-
[775] lief that the soul of a child goes directly to heaven, and the funeral is therefore supposed to be an occasion of rejoicing. Gay music is played at the wake and at the funeral procession. The *novena* and prayers for the soul of the deceased are unnecessary in the case of children and are not held, and the burial clothing and decorations must be befitting to an *angelito*. If the dead child is a boy he is dressed like San José, if a girl, like the Virgen de Guadalupe. Both wear socks and cardboard

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 565. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos,* and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecans teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero, chirimitero* (flute player), maguey fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *huehuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



121 acts with the folk or low tradition, and is influenced by it from
795 the "grass-roots" level[7]. If we regard these extremes—the high tradition and the low tradition—as two ends of the continuum from formal to folk Catholicism, we may be able to determine something about their effect upon each other. A more careful analysis of Catholic cultures may be possible, however, by including the intermediate positions of nominal and cultural Catholicism, not emphasizing the degree to which the religious beliefs are practiced in terms of the Church's own goals, but rather, the forms which Catholicism manifests. In this sense, Tepoztlán
[114] is again restudied, both to secure additional information, and to permit a different sort of participant observation by an anthropologist practicing the faith of the villagers he studies.

One basic reason for selecting for this study the village of Tepoztlán was that here was manifested in bold relief the frontier where formal and folk Catholicism meet. The natural
793 center of any formal Catholic activity rests locally with the parish priest who is pastor of the Church in a specific geographic area. In Tepoztlán, Dom Pedro Rojas has held this post for the past thirty-six years, under appointment by the Archbishop of
793 Cuernavaca. His role, however, becomes somewhat complex
794 because his parish is made up of seven semi-independent units known as barrios, each of which centers around a smaller church (iglesita) or chapel of which he is also the pastor, and which in all formal matters is accountable to him. Nonetheless each of these chapels does function with some degree of independence, pointing up the significance of folk Catholicism, as will be illustrated later in this brief account.

In addition to having had the advantage of studying the
114 works already accomplished about this village, the present discussion is based upon personal observations made during two summer field seasons. The writer and his wife spent four consecutive week-ends in Tepoztlán during August 1955, and lived
123 in the village continuously during August and the early days
794 of September, 1956. We participated in the daily social and

[7] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 67-104.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



religious life of the people, both in the parish Church of Santa Maria del Asunción, which is situated on the central plaza, and in the various fiestas and other activities of the neighborhoods or barrios. The investigator and his wife were accepted in the parish Church as well as in all of the barrio chapels, as practicing Catholics, rather than as interested onlookers. This was the major point of departure, which aided us in dealing with informants, and in interpreting religious practices, because of having familiarity with the intentions and meaning of Catholic rituals and ceremonies. To the degree to which a religious belief or experience may be considered a fact, we shared with the village people a common reality, vital to us and to them.

All of the seven barrios and their chapels were visited by the investigator. A plan was worked out by which some selectivity operated in making our observations. The barrio and chapel of Santa Cruz were visited during the annual fiesta, which occurred early in our stay, and gave us an introduction to the way in which deep religious feeling and social festivity are fused in their expression in the fiestas in this village. The barrio and chapel of San Sebastian were visited a number of times in connection with a fiesta which will be reported later in this paper. The barrio and chapel of San Miguel were chosen for daily visits, at varying times of the day, in order to find out what might be expected in a particular barrio chapel. The parish Church was visited on the same basis, for purposes of comparison and contrast. This brought about opportunities for frequent observations in the barrio and chapel of La Santissima, which is contiguous to the plaza. The barrio and chapel of Santo Domingo, lying below the plaza on the slope toward the valley, and the barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes near the crest of the hillside high above the plaza, all three are more distant from the center of activity and were less frequently visited.

Interviews with informants were non-directed and limited in scope. Aid was proferred from several sources, and in general the field work notes were gathered with an eye toward the priest's position and activities, and the activities of certain

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



It is readily seen from this that one can view formal Catholicism both in terms of religious phenomena as such, and also in terms of the goals and ends of the Church as She conceives of Herself. In principle the Church need not be dependent upon social organization, although of necessity She must operate within it. There is this difference between formal Catholicism as such, and those aspects of cultural and folk Catholicism which are reflected in what Redfield terms the "social organization of tradition."

In the village of Tepoztlán, we may identify formal Catholicism as being materially expressed by the parish Church and the pastor. Nominal Catholicism is represented here as elsewhere by that portion of the population which claims to be Catholic, but does not observe with any great faithfulness the wishes, the spirit, or the laws of the Church. Cultural Catholicism is demonstrated in the social implications of holy days, holidays and fiestas which originate in liturgical religious observances but become indistinguishable in the minds of some, from patriotic or ethnocentric celebrations. Folk Catholicism is manifested in demonstrations of fireworks as a part of Catholic worship, indigenous artistic expression used in decorations of chapels and images, special meanings given to saints which have developed in the santos cult, and in lay participation in barrio chapel affairs with the onus of responsibility upon the layman, without the presence of the village pastor.

The presence of neighborhood shrines, which are actually small churches dedicated to a patron saint who thus becomes the patron of the barrio, from the Catholic point of view, presents a unique problem in terms of religious activity in the village. The barrio and the chapel are known by the name of the patron saint, whose image is placed on the main altar, and whose fiesta is observed each year according to the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church. The chapel and certain lands adjoining it, are the property of the barrio. The seven barrios are geographically delineated, each having its own point of view regarding its importance, the importance of the patron saint, and its relationship to religious action. Barrio member-

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



794 ship is hereditary, and represents strong social identification
621 in addition to religious significance. Dual membership is possible, in that one automatically is a permanent member of the first barrio in which one lives, but upon moving into another, becomes also a member of the one in which residence occurs. Each barrio maintains distinctive and to a certain extent, independent activities, which offer to the investigator the opportunity to make a more precise analysis of religious behaviour.

794 If one may speak of the Tepoztecans as "folk", and their
795 indigenous barrio activities as folk Catholicism, then we may say that the folk were viewed in terms of their membership not only in the barrio chapels but in the formal Church as well. For example, each barrio fiesta represents an important expression of social and religious life, but baptisms, marriages, and funerals of barrio members take place in the parish Church. The obligation to attend Mass on Sundays and holy days is usually fulfilled in the parish Church, although it may be fulfilled by attendance at Mass in any one of the barrio chapels when provision for this has been made. The reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion takes place in the barrio chapel only by special arrangement; whereas in the parish Church these Sacraments may be received daily. Daily visits to pray take place in chapels and in the parish Church, but the pastor officiates at the services in the parish Church, while lay people lead the Rosary in the chapels. Thus the low tradition of the Church represented by the folk Catholicism of the barrios, is in continual interaction with the high tradition, represented by the formal Catholicism of the parish Church.

795 The eminent social scientist, Dr. Manuel Gamio, once made a distinction between what he called "pagan Catholicism" and Roman Catholicism in Mexico. Many other authorities have pointed out similarities between Christian practices and those of the various ancient Mexican religions. Vaillant has given a clear picture of the parallel between the hierarchy of the Christian saints and the Aztec point of view regarding their gods, pointing out that

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



> . . . while the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do most of the ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.[8]

In approaching Catholicism anthropologically, one must consider the culture retention which obtains from earlier practices and culture change within the dynamics of the social organization of the Church. M. D. W. Jeffreys has developed this thought in his recent very instructive article, "Some Rules of Directed Culture Change under Roman Catholicism".[9] In the beginning of the Catholic Church in Mexico, following the Conquest, the Spanish friars built upon the then already existing patterns of religious behaviour. Some have maintained that the ancient forms were merely superimposed upon paganism, as a kind of veneer. The answer to this claim lies in the fact that from the beginning, the Catholic Church has followed the purpose "not to destroy, but to fulfill".

The perennial question arises, especially in the barrios, as to what kind of relation exists between the people and the formal Church. Among Catholics everywhere, the concept of saintly intervention is a common one indeed. The barrio chapels are dedicated to saints, who have been said to have become the gods of the barrios. It is recognized that there is some relationship between the practice of patronizing a saint and earlier Aztec practices common in this village. It does not follow, however, that because of the strong Aztec influences of the past, or the similarities to be found between Aztec and Catholic practices, the nature of the Communion of Saints in the Christian tradition is entirely missed. Simple people do not readily distinguish pure spirit, and require symbols to represent such mysteries as the Godhead or the Trinity. There is much evidence to the effect that religious feelings and beliefs in the barrios though expressed through folk ways, are in harmony with the formal

[8] George C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico*. New York, Doubleday Doran & Co., 1944. Penguin Books, Pelican Edition, 1950, p. 178.

[9] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (August, 1956), pp. 721-731.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



794 795 intentions of the Catholic Church; and that the formal Church, in turn, affects the expression of religious feelings and beliefs thus influencing the folk practices.

796 What then is indigenous to the folk, and what is superimposed by the formal Church, through Her representatives in the hierarchy? This may be illustrated by the observation of the Feast of the Assumption, August fifteenth. The Feast was celebrated in the parish Church as a Holy Day of Obligation of the Universal Church, with Masses as on Sundays, and special ceremonies, decorations and observances in honor of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven.

The little barrio of San Sebastian also celebrated this Feast with certain indigenous practices. A statue of the Virgin known [778] as Our Lady in Transito had a prominent part in the observances: [794] it appears to belong jointly to San Sebastian Chapel and that of another village. Each year on the Vigil of this Feast, the statue is brought in procession from one chapel to the other, to remain alternate years in each chapel.

At five o'clock in the morning, the day was heralded by the shooting off of fireworks and the ringing of the chapel bells. At nine o'clock, Mass was said by a visiting priest from Cuernavaca, [793] invited by the barrio, with the permission of Padre Rojas. The Mass followed the exact formalities of the Mass as found in the parish Church, or any Catholic Church, including sung responses in Latin accompanied by organ music, and a sermon on the meaning of the Assumption. Following the Mass there was recitation of the Litany of the Saints, with responses in the vernacular, the saying of the Rosary, and Benediction. Since the Reserved Sacrament is not kept in this chapel, or in any of the barrio chapels, the priest consumed the Host following Benediction. This was the only variation from Benediction as it is observed in the parish Church.

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, in which deep and genuine religious feeling was observed on the part of the worshippers, the congregation withdrew to the churchyard, where [535] the children in costume, performed the dance known as Los

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



Pastores, accompanied by a three-man band. The dancing continued for most of the day, ending m the afternoon with a religious dance inside the chapel which appeared to have been based upon the imparting of the Kiss of Peace in the High Mass. Participation in the religious meaning of the ceremonial dance was extended to the congregation by the distribution of fruit and flowers to each person present. Much incense was burned, and hymns were sung. All of the candles on the altar, and many large, specially decorated candles were lighted. At the end of the ceremony, during which there was much evidence of emotion, the congregation backed out of the chapel, still singing hymns, and the procession formed to return to their village amid the shooting off of fireworks, and music by the three-man band. All of these afternoon activities including the services in the chapel, took place in the absence of a priest, led entirely by laymen. In one sense, all of these rituals were formal and liturgical, but in terms of freedom of expression and the particular patterns of the barrio, the rituals were representative of the folk.

According to Padre Rojas, Catholic life in the barrios is regulated by him. To him, the chapels are extensions of the formal Church; their activities are reflections of the wishes of the formal Church. Each barrio mayordomo consults with him regularly about plans for such matters as the hours for the ringing of chapel bells, arrangements for Mass, activities in preparation for fiestas, and similar formalities. The functional responsibility for carrying out these plans is with the people, rather than with the priest. It is they who join forces to work the land belonging to the chapel; to prepare for the fiestas. It is they who keep the chapels decorated and cleaned, bringing fresh flowers, candles and incense when they wish to do so. It is the people who assume responsibility for seeing that the chapel is kept locked at night and at those times during the day when no one is about to guard it. The people come in spontaneously when the chapels are open, to pray and meditate.

San Miguel Chapel, which is situated on the main road from Cuernavaca was always open from dawn to eventide. It was

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



observed that on many days, a small group of people, mostly women, gathered in the late afternoon, lighted the candles on the main altar, and said the Rosary, singing hymns between each decade. In this they were usually led by an elderly woman cantora who also sang the responses when a sung Mass was offered in that chapel. Thus she formed a kind of bridge between the high tradition of the formal Church and the low tradition of the barrio activities. One noticed the independence of barrio folkways, although as has been noted, the pastor considered that no official barrio chapel activity was in existence save through his permission, and in this the folk appeared to concur.

It was our observation that in both the main Church and in the barrio chapels, the priest directs the parish in terms of the expectations of the high tradition. The Forty Hours Devotion, which is regularly observed in all dioceses and archdioceses of the Catholic Church is observed annually in Tepoztlán, sometimes in the barrio chapels, sometimes in the main church. If a new devotion is to be introduced, the pastor must give his permission. This was illustrated in the fact that although there is evidence of great devotion to the Virgin under the title of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there is also devotion to her in this village under the guise of Our Lady of Fatima. Pictures of the Fatima apparition were found in the parish Church and in every one of the barrio chapels. It was learned that this devotion was introduced by a local layman, who with the pastor's permission, gave the pictures and spread the devotion. His interest was extended among the barrio folk so that in San Miguel Chapel, a statue of Our Lady of Fatima was purchased with funds collected in the barrio. This bore out the previous studies which showed that there is considerable rivalry among the barrios, and that there is a need for each to distinguish itself in some way, thus bringing it into prominence among the village folk.

A practice which is deeply rooted in religious custom and human observance from time immemorial is that of the eating of symbolic food. This was observed in Tepoztlán in the formal Church as well as in the barrio chapels at the time of fiestas in

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



759 Spain, where a woman cures by saying appropriate prayers.[10]
171 Although she cannot be formally recognized by the priest, she is an accepted cultural entity in Catholic village life, much as is the case in Tepoztlán.

794 It might be supposed that there is a normal reciprocity be-
795 tween priest and laity, between the formal Church and the barrio chapel, between the high tradition and the low tradition. This reciprocity or series of expectations formulates the basis of society in Tepoztlán, where the formal Church organizes Herself pretty much as do formal churches anywhere, regardless of the underlying interactions between formal and folk Catholicism. To be sure, in any society the proscriptions of the Church do not always coincide with the culturally approved patterns.

Under the title of Catholic Action, there are three or four
575 parish organizations. These include one for men, one for
794 women, and one for boys. As parts of the nation-wide Acción
795 Católica, these groups are considered to be somewhat weak, although when they do meet, usually about once a week, the pastor is present, and they discuss "Catholic principles and ways".

796 In addition to daily Mass in the parish Church each morning, Padre Rojas presides at "La Doctrina" each evening. This includes Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, recitation of the Rosary, reading of the liturgy of Vespers of the day, the singing of hymns, and Benediction. Usually there are more women present than men, but people of all ages were observed in attendance. Some days the group was relatively large; on other days only a few people came. The factor of ritual as well as religious attraction is paramount in such devotions. Indeed
795 there is sometimes a wide gap between ritualistic propitiation
796 of God, and moral practices among the folk. To the sophisticated Catholic, ritual and morality are synthesized; but to the folk there are cleavages which, in Tepoztlán, appear to reflect Indian practices. As Father J. Franklin Ewing, S.J. states, "In many discussions it is necessary to distinguish between what an anth-

[10] Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*. New York: Criterion Books, 1954.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



ropological friend of mine calls 'folk-Catholicism' and the attitude of theologians and other well-educated Catholics"[11]. In the case of the fiesta, we have an extension of a religious pattern which overflows into the social organization of the village.

It is seen, then, that the parish priest has considerable influence over the religious activities of the village[12], and at the same time, the barrio people do carry on a certain amount of indigenous religious life, expressed in various patterns, accountable to the formal Church, but not always a full part of it, although not in conflict with it.

In conclusion it may be said that the barrio world of Tepoztlán represents the low tradition in Catholicism, and that it interacts with the formal Church representing the high tradition. If the observer is not too familiar with Catholic practices, it is possible that an interpretation of the findings in terms of social organization alone will miss important points. If the observer shares Catholicism with the observed, there may be greater accuracy in appraising Catholic practices. Mistakes may be made, but there is an acceptance of the investigator on the part of the people who will thus discuss those aspects of the investigation which are Catholic in essence with a different focus than when speaking to a non-Catholic investigator. The observer of religious patterns in Tepoztlán can see the interaction of folk and formal Catholicism as a pattern of culture, meaningful both to the parish priest and to the members of the barrios. If the Catholic participant observer can maintain genuine objectivity while admitting his set of values, then we have an additional source of interpretation of religious patterns. These patterns cannot be seen as merely formal, or as merely folk, but rather as operating on a continuum, with the expected interaction of the several parts. The total result will be one more tool for the analysis of religious behaviour, for as Everett Hughes has pointed out, the whole of sociology has manifested itself within the bounds

[11] *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (New Series Vol. 4), No. 4, (October, 1956), p. 123.

[12] In this connection, see Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, Chapter XIX, "Religion and the Rural Church", pp. 454-483.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



177 743 474 would give the cooperative the opportunity to accumulate the necessary funds to carry on independently.

It was believed by the staff and borne out by the consensus of 177 743 474 the first meeting that the barrio provided the most logical basis upon which a cooperative organization could be built because it was the primary cooperative unit in the social organization of the village. As already indicated, each barrio has its own patron saint, its chapel, its own festivals, and a plot of land which is communally worked by the men of the barrio to provide for the upkeep of the chapel. Fiestas were traditionally organized on a barrio basis, and in recent years participation in sports events has been on a similar basis. Thus, the few cooperative activities in the village were barrio activities. Furthermore, the barrio chose its own ceremonial officials in a fairly democratic fashion, whereas the village officials, though nominally elected, were in practice chosen by the governor of the state of Morelos. In organizing the cooperative on a barrio basis, we were therefore attempting to tie it to a geographical and social unit which still retained some of its indigenous cooperative traditions.

621 [476] [794] [631]

At the mass meeting a central village committee of seven members was elected, one from each barrio, and provisions were made for the election of barrio committees consisting of three persons each. These local committees were to be charged with recruiting members in their barrios and with popularizing the cooperative. The meeting ended on a hopeful note, and the central committee promised to get right to work organizing the barrio committees. But at the first scheduled meeting of the central committee, only three members appeared, and this was symptomatic of what was to follow. After three weeks, only three of the seven barrio committees had been organized.

In the meantime, the doctor furnished by the Department of Health and Welfare arrived in Tepoztlán. A room in a house on the central plaza was obtained as an office. Essential equipment and medicines were purchased out of the first funds collected by the cooperative. Although no nurse was available, the social worker attached to the community research project assumed some of the nursing duties and accompanied the doctor on home visits. In addition to his clinic duties, the doctor worked in a research

177 743 759 [474]